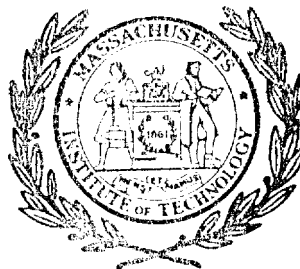


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BOOK PUBLISHING IN COMMUNIST CHINA

Alan P. L. Liu



**RESEARCH PROGRAM ON PROBLEMS OF INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNICATION AND SECURITY**

**CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
CAMBRIDGE • MASSACHUSETTS**

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Table of Contents

Prefatory Remarks	i
Chapter	
I Background	1
II Publishing Under the Communist Regime	5
III Types of Books Published in Communist China	19
IV Translation of Foreign Books in Communist China	62
V Readership and Conclusions	72
Bibliography	90

Prefatory Remarks

This paper is one of a series of reports on systems of mass communication in Communist China.* It is a comprehensive study on the state of publishing in Communist China. We have exhausted all the major sources on this subject in Chinese and English available publicly abroad. The bulk of our data, however, is in Chinese.

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I

Background

The first Chinese printing can be placed at about 600 A.D., but modern publishing for mass consumption was introduced to China from the West in the late nineteenth century. After the Opium War in 1839, a big influx of Westerners came to China; the biggest group were missionaries.

To propagate their faith, the missionaries brought modern printing techniques to China. To modernize so as partially to withstand the rapid social change brought by Westerners, the Manchu government set up official publishing bureaus to translate Western technical books. These two forces gave birth to modern publishing in China.

At first, the policy of the missionaries' publishing enterprises in China was to print many popular educational books along with religious ones so long as the content of the former did not contradict Christian dogma. The policy of the Manchus was to print only technical books. The result was that the missionary publishing houses enjoyed a brisk business. The Manchu government did not print popular educational books until Emperor Kuang Hsi's abortive "reform movement" in 1898. But in the meantime Chinese entrepreneurs were already developing private publishing concerns.

In 1897, a group of young Chinese who had been apprentices in a missionary printing shop started a business of their own. They established the now well-known Commercial Press (Shan Wu Yin Shu Kuan). Their former Western masters now became their major customers. The missionaries had set up many schools in China and the Commercial Press printed their text books. But it was after 1902 that the Commercial Press became a real publishing house instead of just a printing shop. Riding on the tide of Chinese interest in Western culture, the Commercial Press published language books like Elementary English (Hua Yin Tsu Chieh) and Advanced English (Hua Yin Chin Chieh) which contained Chinese explanations of the English text. These books earned good profits for the Commercial Press, which soon became the biggest private publishing house in China. From 1902 to 1930, it turned out 8,039 books.¹ They covered a variety of subjects but economics, law, politics, literature and general reference books were the most numerous. In addition, the Commercial Press was one of the major book stores that supplied school text-books in pre-Communist China. It had its headquarters in Shanghai and 36 branch stores all over China. In addition it had two branch publishing houses in Peking and Hong Kong.²

The Commercial Press, however, was just one of several private publishing companies then in China. As Shanghai grew, more

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1. Chang Chin-lu (editor), Chung Kuo Hsien Dai Chu Pan Shih Liao (History of Modern Chinese Publishing), Peking, Chung Hua Shu Chu (China Publishing Company), 1959, pp. 390-391.
 2. Ibid., p. 427.

private publishing houses opened. In 1906, the Shanghai Chamber of Publishing Houses was formed, which had 22 publishing companies as its members. In the same year, the Manchu government approved the first batch of modern school text-books, totaling 102 titles. Among them, 85 were published by private publishing companies.³

The 1911 revolution established the Republic of China, and a new era of modernization began. Heralding this new age was the opening of Chung Hua Shu Chu (China Book Company) in 1912 in Shanghai. This company was financed by one of the wealthiest families in modern China, the Kungs, who were also Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's relatives. It was contracted to print the Chinese currency. Chung Hua became the chief competitor of the Commercial Press. Wherever there was a branch office of the latter, the former set up one too. But Chung Hua overextended itself and was on the brink of bankruptcy by the end of 1919. It survived this financial crisis by getting another Chinese tycoon to throw in his lot with the company. It again became the second most important publishing company after the Commercial Press in pre-Communist China, specializing in text-books, classical writings, dictionaries and translations of foreign works on philosophy and social sciences.⁴

The Republican era was marked by new cultural movements, and the publishing business thrived until the Sino-Japanese war. The

3. Ibid., p. 384.

4. Ibid., Vol. 4, pp. 398-399.

war not only washed out small printing companies, but also damaged big companies like the Commercial Press. The Japanese troops burned the library, research facilities and translation unit of the Commercial Press in Shanghai. The library's collection of 372,000 books and periodicals was destroyed totally in the fire. Japanese artillery also bombed and severely damaged the printing shops of the Commercial Press in Shanghai.⁵

After the war the private publishing business in China had a brief breathing space before the civil war engulfed them once more. The Chinese Communists expanded their own publishing agent as they moved from the north to the whole Chinese mainland. This was Hsin Hua Shu Chu (New China Book Company).

Hsin Hua was first established by the Communists in 1942 after Mao Tse-tung's declaration on "art and literature for peasants and workers." Hsin Hua expanded as the Red Army marched to conquer China. In 1945, it was already turning out 124 books with 596,000 copies a year. Among these, 128,000 copies were works by Mao, Lenin, Marx and Engels and 293,000 consisted of popular reading matter, proselytizing the people to the Communist cause.⁶ After 1949, Hsin Hua became the Party's sole agent for distributing books around the country. In the meantime, the Party was tightening its net around the private publishing industry on the Chinese mainland.

5. Ibid., p. 423.

6. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 242.

II

Publishing Under the Communist Regime

A survey in 1949 found that there were 315 publishing companies on the Chinese mainland. Among them, 215 or 68 percent were in Shanghai. Peking had 44. The rest were scattered among 24 cities, of which 13 were in the eastern coastal provinces.⁷

Planning for Reform: The 1950 Conference on Publishing

To put these publishing houses under its control, the Communist regime set up the Publications Administration under the Committee of Cultural and Educational Affairs which, in turn, was directly responsible to the cabinet, the Government Administration Council. Under the Publications Administration were the Office of Director, Bureau of Editing and Censorship, Bureau of Translation, Bureau of Publication and Hsin Hua Book Company.

Hsin Hua expanded rapidly from 1950 to 1951, increasing its branch stores from 700 to 1,100.⁸ In September, 1950, the Publications Administration convened the first National Conference on Publications. It was attended by some 320 representatives of the nation's publishing companies. All the resolutions adopted by the conference were geared toward centralizing the publishing business in China.

7. Ibid., pp. 681-702.

8. Kung Fei Chung Yao Tse Liao Hwui Pien (Important Documents of Communist Bandits), Taipei, Central Publishing Company of Cultural Materials, 1951, pp. 12-13.

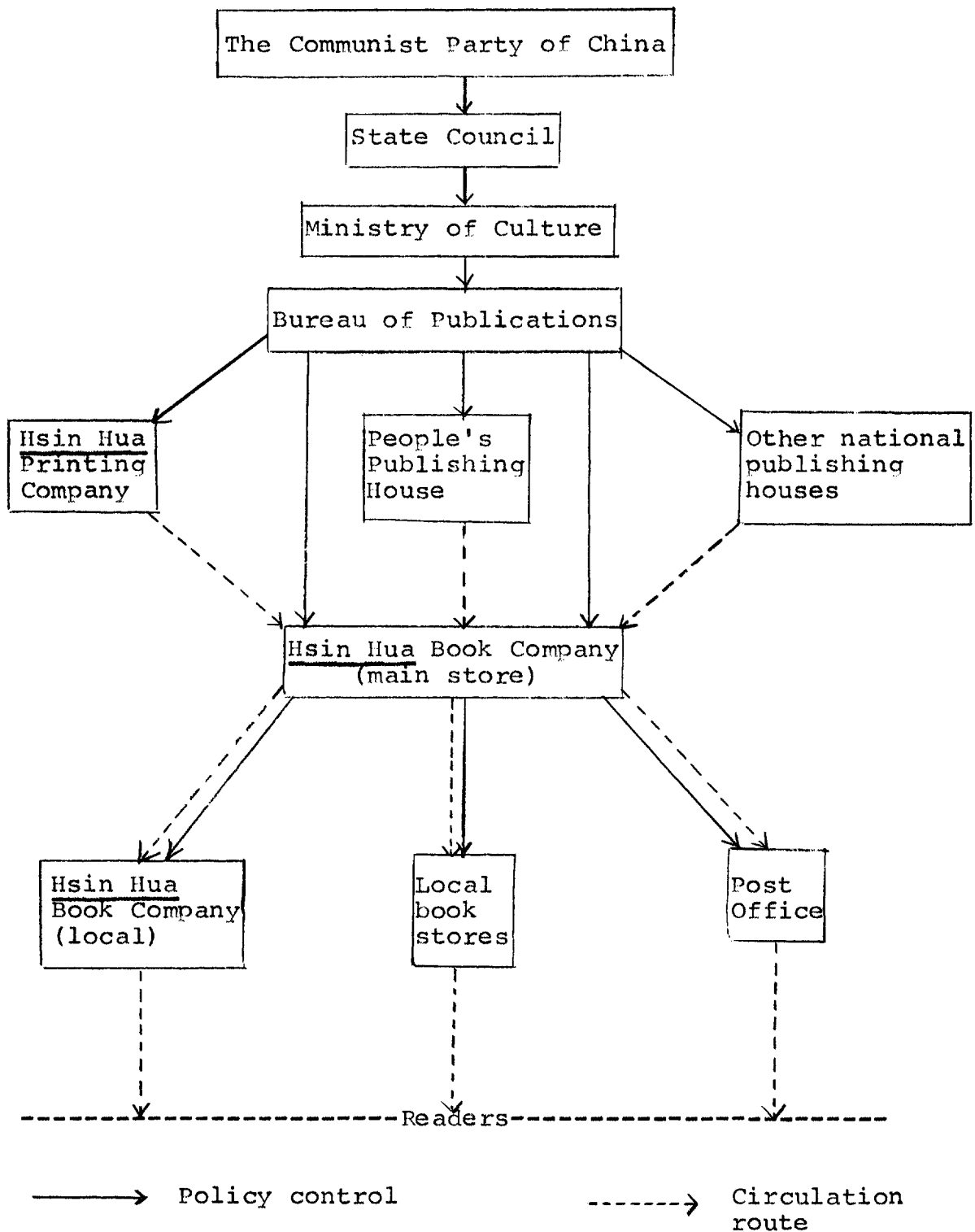
First, the conference established Hsin Hua Book Company as the nation's sole agent of book distribution. Its local stores became centers for distribution of national and local books. Also the main store of Hsin Hua in Peking was split up. Its publishing section was merged with the Bureau of Editing and Censorship to form the authoritative People's Publishing House. The publishing sections of Hsin Hua's local stores also became independent local People's Publishing Houses. The main printing unit of Hsin Hua in Peking became the independent Hsin Hua Printing Company. The local printing units of Hsin Hua likewise were changed into independent companies.

Thus in each province there was this triplet of People's Publishing House, Hsin Hua Book Company and Hsin Hua Printing Company. With the local Cultural Bureau as the nominal head, these four formed a pyramidal control network over the reading matter of the public. A schematic presentation of this control network is found in Chart I on the next page.

Second, the conference resolved that the publishing industry was to specialize. The Commercial Press and Chung Hua Book Company were to publish books on natural sciences, technology, agronomy, medicine and hygiene. Two other private publishing companies, San Lien (Triple Union) Book Store and Kai Min (Enlightenment) Book Store were assigned to turn out books on applied social science, literature, history and books of medium range.* In

* The so-called "medium range" books do not require advanced education in order to comprehend them; they are intended for middle-school graduates.

Chart I--Control and Circulation of Publications in
Communist China--A Schematic Presentation



addition, the regime set up three new specialized publishing houses, the Workers' Publishing House, the Youth Publishing House and the People's Education Publishing House. The last was responsible for the nation's text-books.

Third, the conference also resolved that all public and private publishing companies submit long-range and periodical plans of publication to the Publication Administration (later to the Bureau of Publications). These were required to specify categories and quantities of books to be published.

The above mainly concerned organizational readjustments. So far as the quality of publications was concerned, the conference in 1950 made it plain that all publications must serve politics and all publishing companies must eliminate "thoughts and influences of feudalism, Fascism and compradorism." This took the form of outright book burnings and close-downs of private publishing companies.

Reform of Publishing in Action: The Book Burning Movement, 1950-1953

After the 1950 conference, a campaign of book burning began.

Up to 1950, the Commercial Press had published some 15,000 titles. By the late summer of 1950, only 8,800 remained. At the end of November, 1951, 1,354 remained, or 14 percent of the original stock. Among books on literature, history and geography, only five to six percent of the original collection survived. Among books on social science, three percent survived. The rest were either

burned or made into pulp by paper mills.⁹ Chung Hua Book Company was first allowed to retain 2,000 books out of its more than 13,000 titles.¹⁰ However, by the end of May, 1952, Chung Hua had only 400 titles of books and was still in the process of "purification."¹¹

The book burning movement spread from Shanghai to the whole nation. In 1952 Hsin Hua Book Company's south China offices collected 110,230 pounds of books, mostly classical, and sold them as pulp to paper mills. For this movement, Hsin Hua selected one of its branch stores in Kwangsi province as a model. This store initiated a campaign of "Book Exchanges and Collection for the Elimination of Poisonous Feudal Culture." In November, 1952, alone, 2,807 pounds of books were collected and sold to Kwangchow Tung Hsin Paper Mill as pulp. Hsin Hua called all its branch stores to emulate this model and they responded. In some places, cadres beat drums and gongs to call the local people to contribute old books to be burned. Books collected for destruction by the authorities in Chekiang province "were piled up like a mountain."¹²

The Initial Results of Reform: 1955-1956

The most obvious result of reform on publishing by 1955 was the reduction of the number of private publishing companies. For example, from 1951 to 1955, 53 publishing companies in Shanghai

9. Ta Kung Pao (Great Impartial Daily), January 6, 1952, and Chin Tak-kai, Chung Kung Hsuan Chuan Tsen Chieh Yu Yuan Jung (A Study of Chinese Communist Propaganda; its Policy and Operations), Hong Kong, Research Institute of Modern History, 1954, pp. 69-70.

10. Ta Kung Pao (Great Impartial Daily), June 1, 1952.

11. Chin Tak-kai, op. cit., p. 70.

12. Kwang Ming Jih Pao (Kwang Ming Daily), March 28, 1953.

were merged into four, operated "jointly by the state and private publishers."¹³ By 1956, there were 101 publishing houses in the nation as compared with 315 in 1949. "In 1956, all the legitimate private publishing houses in the country were merged into 19 publishing houses jointly owned by the state and private interests. Private publishing houses have become an historical term."¹⁴

Rectification of the Reform Plan: 1956-1957

This system of effective control was not without drawbacks. In mid-1956, the Communist press suddenly carried a series of articles criticizing the publishing industry. The main criticism was that there were too many unsalable books and too few books that were in demand. There were also charges of waste of human resources, bureaucracy and low quality of publications. Let us examine each of these in a bit more detail.

The most serious problem was that, to quote one newspaper article title, "Several Million Books Become Waste Paper."¹⁵ For example, 1,700,000 copies of National Program for Agricultural Development from 1956 to 1957 (Draft) Illustrated were printed. Yet by the end of 1957, in Peking alone, 320,000 copies were put in warehouses and 900,000 copies were shelved in other cities. Thus about 72 percent of the total copies of this booklet could not be sold.¹⁶ This situation was aggravated further by

13. Fei-Ching Tsan-Kao Tse-Liao (Reference Materials on the Bandit Situation), Taipei, Central Publishing Company for Cultural Materials, 1955, p. 158.

14. Jen-Min Jih-Pao (People's Daily), July 23, 1957.

15. Ta Kung Pao (Great Impartial Daily), November 28, 1956.

16. Ibid.

senseless duplication of books:¹⁷

The tendency for books on the same subject to come out like a swarm of bees is another manifestation that books were published blindly with no regard given to actual need. No less than ten books on worker-peasant alliance have been published by different publishing houses. Take, for example, the elimination of sparrows and rats. The fact is that sparrows and rats in one place do not differ from those in other places and the way to get rid of them is the same everywhere. Yet many books on this have been published. As a result, the Hsin Hua Book Company's offices are flooded with popular books on this subject. This is a great waste. Since China is suffering from paper shortage, such a phenomenon is worthy of our attention.

It was also reported that more than 50 books were published on hog breeding by 27 publishing houses in Peking. The Juvenile and Children's Publishing House turned out a book on hog breeding. On the subject of managing "rural clubs," 39 books were published.¹⁸

Actually the cause of this situation lay in the very nature of the triplet system imposed on the publishing industry by the regime. The publishing, printing and distributing units were now independent of each other. Each of them was responsible to the Bureau of Publications. Hence there was no need for the printing company to be concerned with the amount of copies printed. On the other hand, the publishing companies had no power over the number of copies to be printed. The distribution company, Hsin Hua, had the final say about this. But for Hsin Hua, as a distributing agent, the more books it distributed or had printed, the greater

17. Kwang Ming Jih Pao (Kwang Ming Daily), July 9, 1956.

18. Ta Kung Pao (Great Impartial Daily), November 28, 1956.

its achievement. So, it ordered more copies than the public could possibly buy. Then Hsin Hua resorted to compulsory salesmanship;¹⁹

In the spring of 1951, Hsin Hua first distributed about 100,000,000 copies of books on topics like the management of rural libraries and the "Aid Korea and Resist America" campaign. Then it again and again distributed this type of book in rural areas, going far beyond the purchasing power of the people. When readers rejected these books, Hsin Hua resorted to the wrong way of compulsory distribution.

The excess of cheap political books made other types of books scarce such as technical and scientific books. "As the demand for technical books is limited, Hsin Hua Book Company often refuses to get out new editions when the old ones have been sold out.... As a result, certain books which should have been readily obtainable are in very short supply."²⁰

The burning of classics and books published in pre-Communist China also contributed to the shortage of good quality literary works and reference books. As one of the deputy directors of the Bureau of Publications said:²¹

Since last fall [1956], most teachers and students specializing in Chinese language and literature have been unable to obtain even such books as Three Hundred Tang Verses, so widely used in old-fashioned schools in the old days. There is no new dictionary for students in middle schools. Recently many people have wanted

19. Kung Fei Chung Yao Tse Liao Hwui Pien, op. cit., p. 22, footnote No. 8, supra.

20. Jen-Min Jih-Pao (People's Daily), July 23, 1957.

21. Ibid.

to study Lu Shun,* but it has been exceedingly difficult for them to obtain The Complete Works of Lu Shun. I have not yet heard of any plan being made for collecting and publishing many valuable books or manuscripts that are left by authors who have already passed away.... If steps are not immediately taken by our publishing organizations to secure the services of qualified scholars to collect materials for their reference libraries and make plans for such big jobs, then by the time the old generation of scholars are gone and more and more old books are lost, it will be extremely difficult to get qualified men and to collect the necessary materials for editing and reprinting our old books. That would be an irreparable loss to our culture.

The policy of specialization has its drawbacks also. The most authoritative testimony to this is found in the Chinese Communists' own words:²²

After 1951, many specialized publishing organizations have been set up under many central governmental organs, local governmental organs and special organizations. The development of these publishing houses, however, has been uneven. For instance, there is a Construction and Engineering Publishing House and a Construction Material Industry Publishing House under the Construction Department, but there is no agricultural publishing house. Leadership is heterogeneous. The technical publishing houses are under the administration of the related governmental organizations. The Music Publishing House and Youth Publishing House were led respectively by the Chinese Musicians Association and the Central Committee of the Young Communist League. The local publishing houses are under the administration of local governmental organs.

22. Jen-Min Jih-Pao (People's Daily), July 23, 1957.

- * Lu Shun was a very popular essayist and short story writer in the early Republican era. He was known for his biting attacks on the traditional Chinese social system. We shall discuss him in more detail in the next chapter.

The publishing industry was also beset with bureaucratism. There was a disproportionate number of non-editorial personnel. There were 6,540 employees in publishing organizations on the national level, of which 2,680 were editorial personnel. There were 3,150 employees in publishing organizations on the regional level, of which 1,050 were editorial personnel. The ratio between non-editorial and editorial personnel was roughly three to one and in Shanghai it was five to one.²³ A critic contrasted this situation with the Gorki Region Publishing House in the Soviet Union: "...the Gorki Region Publishing House published about 100 titles of books every year with only 25 working personnel. Some of our local publishing houses have too large a set up and too many employees have no definite work to do."²⁴ Without giving the ratio of editorial to non-editorial personnel in the Gorki Region Publishing House, one cannot really compare it with the Chinese situation. But the critic's point is clear: overstaffing was a problem in the Chinese publishing industry. Worse still, the quality of Chinese editors was not high. One report said:²⁵

There are over 3,000 intellectuals engaged in editorial work, but less than one-fifth of them could work independently. Editors qualified for preparing publications of classical works are even more scarce. The number of staff workers in the publishing business is large, but in general their quality is lower than that of the editors. Hsin Hua Book Company has 3,450

23. Jen-Min Jih-Pao (People's Daily), July 23, 1957.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

branch offices, sale stores and departments all over the country and it has 33,999 employees.* The general educational background of these workers is primary school education. A small number of them are middle school graduates. Few of them are college graduates. Apart from the bureaucratic rules imposed by our leadership, the most serious fault of our publishing industry is the low quality of our editorial personnel.

Yet on the other hand, the cadres refused to use old editorial personnel who were more competent professionally. "...A large part of the skills and experiences of the old publishing businesses which would be used to advantage were discarded by the People's Publishing House and other publishing organizations."²⁶

Censorship also hampered the publishing industry:²⁷

...With regard to editorial work, a system of editorial work was laid down in July 1952 by the Publications Administration which placed too much emphasis on the system of triple examination and on the editor's responsibility for the political views of the publication. Under this system, it is difficult for an editor to interview a writer, let alone for the two to be each other's friend. The editors are required to examine and read manuscripts by experts or specialists and are held responsible for any error in the publications. But the editor's pay is by far incommensurate with his work and responsibilities.

How this system of "triple examination" actually worked is not known. Probably it consisted of three levels of check up of a manuscript. Since editors were held responsible for the political views of the publication, it was not surprising that many of them

26. Jen-Min Jih-Pao (People's Daily), July 23, 1957.

27. Ibid.

* Employees here are those working personnel like clerks and salesmen which were not included in the number of employees in the nation's publishing industry as given in footnote No. 23, page 14.

evaded their work and many publishing houses found a safer way to publish. "Many publishing houses simply put together articles from newspapers and magazines in book form...they rely on published articles, meeting reports and speeches to produce some popular brochures void of content."²⁸ The result of all this is again duplication, overproduction and low quality.

Remedial Action in 1957

The Peking regime then took some seemingly remedial steps. In August, 1957, the Ministry of Culture issued a notification to all the regional Cultural Bureaus, publishing houses and units of the Hsin Hua Book Company. The notification contained three alternatives for publishing houses:²⁹

The first plan is for the publishing houses to determine the number of books to be printed and the bookstores to decide on the size of their orders with the Wholesale Department of the Head Office of Hsin Hua Book Company, contracting for the sales of all books to Hsin Hua. The second plan is for the publishing house to determine the number of books and to distribute their books directly to local bookstores without signing contracts with Hsin Hua at all. The third plan is for the publishing houses to determine the number of books to be published and only give 60 percent of the books to be sold by Hsin Hua The publishing houses may adopt any of the three plans according to their needs and conveniences and sign contracts with Hsin Hua accordingly. In addition, the notification stipulates that the publishing houses may set up their own sales offices in their localities

28. Jen-Min Jih-Pao (People's Daily), December 12, 1956.

29. From Survey of China Mainland Press (henceforth referred to as SCMP), American Consulate General in Hong Kong, No. 1600, p. 12.

or even establish their own mail order sections to handle book distribution to other places.

On the surface it seems that Hsin Hua would have been left without a job if all publishers decided to adopt the second plan. But the reality was quite different.

All these criticisms and remedial plans were made in mid-1957 when the "Hundred Flowers" movement was in full swing. But when a counter-campaign of "eliminating poisonous weeds" was initiated in late 1957, all critics were denounced as "rightists" and all remedial actions were withdrawn, if they had been taken at all. Yeh Sheng-tao, one of the vice ministers of culture, said in an "anti-rightist" forum:³⁰

The undertaking of our press cannot be desultory because all our undertakings are closely linked. In regard to organizational structure, it is correct that we divide this into the three parts of publishing, printing and distributing. We shall continue with such a division henceforth and exert our efforts accordingly.

Publishing Policy from 1958 to 1962

From 1958 on the regime's policy on publishing has been the same as it was in 1950; Hsin Hua has been very active as the nation's sole book distribution agency as the following report indicates:³¹

In order to ensure that books are supplied to meet political and production needs in the countryside, many bookstores pay attention to align themselves with the schedules of work in

30. SCMP, No. 1591, p. 15.

31. Wen Hui Pao (Wen Hui Daily), January 30, 1958.

the localities that they serve. When the branch of Hsin Hua Book Company in Shouchang, Shantung, found out that the county government was about to convene a conference of Party cadres to discuss agricultural production and rectification work in the countryside, it immediately organized a provisional supply team and sent it to the conference site with relevant books. During the session of the conference, 1,142 books were sold within eight days and 1,983 books were requested by the people. When the branch store of Hsin Hua in Fuling, Szechwan, learned that the special administrative bureau was about to convene a conference of activists on the problem of water conservation and accumulation of manure, it immediately selected such books as High Temperature Manure-Making and Rapid Manure-Making Illustrated to be displayed in front of the conference hall. During the opening day, 866 copies of such books were sold.

Since then there has been no liberalization of the regime's policy on publishing. Today the nation still suffers from a paper shortage and yet large numbers of unsalable books accumulate in warehouses. At a conference on book circulation in 1962, it was rather defensively reported:³²

As a matter of fact, stocks of books put aside in the warehouses of bookshops in various places due to slack demand were not unsalable. Although the supply of certain books exceeded demand in one district, they were very much in demand in another district. Some books which were ignored for a long time in rural areas were eagerly sought by readers in urban areas. A number of books were found suitable for rural readers but were tucked away in bookshops in urban areas.... After looking into the stock of books...some 80 million books were delivered to readers all over the nation last year.*

32. Kwang Ming Jih Pao (Kwang Ming Daily), June 16, 1962.

* These 80 million books were otherwise unsalable. They had accumulated over the years; they were not all printed in 1962.

III

Types of Books Published in Communist China

General Trend

The books published in Communist China since 1949 are recorded in the Chinese National Bibliography (Chuan Kuo Tsung Shu Mu). It was first published in 1950 as a quarterly but now it is a bi-weekly publication. It is an index of books in circulation in China. In 1950, it was divided into ten categories: social sciences, philosophy, history and geography, language, art and literature, natural sciences, applied technology, popular readers, juvenile readers, text-books and reference books. Under social sciences were books on Maoism-Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, the Communist movement in the world and current domestic mass movements such as "Aid Korea and Resist America." In 1950 books of this type were the most numerous of all the ten categories. From 1952 to 1955 the categories gradually expanded to 32 as the number of books printed, especially books on social science and technology, increased. During the period of 1958 to 1960, a new category was added--the category of "Special Subject." This was the era of the Great Leap Forward and books under this special category were about the Leap Forward. The 1959 category of "Special Subject" consisted of the following sub-topics: "Socialism and Communist Education," "Theory, System and Experience of the People's Commune," "Education for Service to the Politics

of the Proletariat and Combination of Education and Labor," "Critique of Reactionary Bourgeoisie and Modern Revisionist Thought," "Steel Industry Managed by the Party and the People," "Great Leap Forward of Agriculture," and "Literary Works by Peasants, Workers

Table I
Number of Books Published in Communist China, 1950-1959³³

Year	Titles*	Number of Copies
1950	12,153	274,633,000
1951	18,300	703,304,000**
1952	13,970	788,744,000
1953	18,384	754,519,000
1954	19,177	939,962,000
1955	22,538	1,079,574,000
1956	30,196	1,786,435,000
1957	28,000	1,485,000,000
1958	45,000	2,380,000,000
1959	42,000	2,000,000,000

33. The figures for the period of 1950 to 1956 are from Jen-Min Jih-Pao (People's Daily), July 23, 1957; the figures of 1957 are from Wen Hui Pao (Wen Hui Daily), September 30, 1957; the figures of 1958 are from Peking Review, No. 17, 1959; the figures of 1959 are from Research Report, U.S.I.S., Hong Kong Bureau, 1960, p. 108.

* Titles include both first editions and reprints.

** Another report gives the number of copies as 669,639,911 in 1951. However the one used in this table was given by one of the vice ministers of the Ministry of Culture and hence should be more authoritative.

and Soldiers." Publishing in this period of the Great Leap Forward resembled that of 1950 in the large number of pamphlets on current economic and political campaigns. In the first two months of 1959, for example, the publishing houses in Shanghai printed 24,000,000 copies of the General Line of Socialist Construction.³⁴ Even the Chinese National Bibliography was published and released three times per month.

This frenzy of publishing subsided after 1961 when the nation really felt the pinch of the failure of the Leap Forward. The Chinese National Bibliography was changed into a bi-weekly and the category of "Special Subject" disappeared from the bibliography. The dispute with Moscow was reflected in the bibliography: a new category, "Movement of International Communism and the Buildup of the Communist Party," appeared to replace the old "International Relations and Diplomacy."

Under this new category are two kinds of publications. The "Buildup of the Communist Party" deals exclusively with the party organizations within China. Typical titles are: "How to Implement the Policy of Democratic Centralism in People's Communes" or "We Must Adhere Closely to the Policy of Democratic Centralism." The "Movement of International Communism" deals mostly with Communist or Socialist Parties in satellite countries, although emphasis is on Asian parties such as the Korean Labor Party (the Communist Party of North Korea) and the Japanese Communist Party.

34. Wen Hui Pao (Wen Hui Daily), February 2, 1959.

In 1962 the Party called for more books on "recollections of revolutionary struggles" and on science and technology. The former was a manifestation of the Party's concern with the low morale of Chinese youth and with the related problem of leadership succession. By intensively indoctrinating the young in the history of the Communist Party's armed struggle, it hoped to win over the loyalty of the youth to carry out its policy of "permanent revolution." The emphasis on science and technology has been a constant theme but in 1962 it was also related to the Party's policy of Chinese "self-reliance" after the withdrawal of Soviet advisers. It is significant that starting May 7, 1962, the People's Daily began to publish a serialized translation of the book, The Art of Scientific Investigation, by William Ian Beardmore Beveridge of Cambridge University. This was the first Western publication of its kind to be published in the Chinese Communist Press. The most distinctive feature of the book is its highly technical content. It deals with basic principles of scientific method such as experimentation, hypothesis, reason, observation, etc. Unlike other writings on the nature of science, this book does not try to link political ideology with the nature of scientific research. In this sense, it is value-free and perhaps because of this, the book was singled out by the Peking regime to be translated.

The relative proportions of types of books published over these years are presented in Table II. However, our data are limited to the period from 1949 to 1958 and to the number of new titles printed each year. Reprints are not counted. These data

are from Chinese Publishing: Statistics 1949-1959, a study done by the Committee on American Library Resources on the Far East, Association for Asian Studies.

Table II
Types of Books Published in Communist China, 1949-1958*

Year	<u>Books on Technology</u>		<u>Natural Sciences</u>		<u>Art and Literature</u>		<u>Social Sciences</u>		<u>Others</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1949	20	7	18	6	86	31	103	37	53	19
1950	156	15	38	4	434	42	228	22	110	17
1951	471	24	76	4	617	32	478	25	296	15
1952	576	27	114	5	594	28	712	33	161	7
1953	1,058	25	287	5	1,152	27	1,245	29	561	14
1954	1,545	24	356	6	1,646	26	1,946	30	909	14
1955	2,002	21	415	4	2,686	29	2,825	30	1,218	16
1956	3,426	24	494	4	3,440	24	4,088	29	2,622	19
1957	3,501	27	801	6	3,409	26	3,204	24	1,219	17
1958	7,391	34	1,029	5	5,883	27	5,167	24	2,406	10

Books on Technology:

Mean (m) = 2014.6
Standard deviation (s) = 2147.1

Natural Sciences: m = 355.8
s = 322.4

Art and Literature: m = 1994.7
s = 1752.14

Social Sciences: m = 1999.6
s = 1667.3

* Only new titles printed each year are included.

We have reclassified the categories in Chinese Publishing: Statistics 1949-1959 into five: technology, natural sciences, art and literature, social sciences and others. Under technology are agriculture, animal husbandry, engineering and technology and medicine. We have left unchanged the original categories of natural sciences and art and literature. Under social sciences are Communism, religion and philosophy, economics, military, law, culture and education. The "others" then include linguistics, history, geography, reference works, text-books and juvenile.

Table II shows clearly that new books on technology increased rapidly since 1949. But until 1957 the yearly percentage of technological books was smaller than that of art and literature or social science books. The year of 1957 marked the beginning of dominance of technological books over others. The growth of technological books was so jumpy that its standard deviation was the greatest among four types of books. The deviation was even greater than the mean. This signifies the regime's "shock troop" style of industrial development, the style described vividly by Mikhail A. Klochko, onetime Soviet scientific adviser to China.³⁵

Let us now look into specific types of books in Communist China.

Mao's Works and Other Doctrinaire Writings

The publication on the Chinese mainland of Mao Tse-tung's writings is of two kinds, pamphlets containing single articles and collections of articles in volumes.

35. Mikhail A. Klochko, Soviet Scientist in Red China, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1964.

Immediately after the establishment of the Peking regime in 1949, the Committee on Publication of Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung was set up under the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Party. Its chairman is one of the Party's leading theoreticians and historians, Chen Po-ta. He also heads the committee which supervises the Party's chief ideological journal, Hung Chi (Red Flag).

The first volume of Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung contained 16 articles that Mao wrote from 1926 to 1937 and was published by the People's Publishing House on October 12, 1951. The second volume contained 41 articles written from 1937 to 1941 and was published on April 10, 1952. By the end of October, 1952, 3,020,000 copies of the first two volumes had been printed.³⁶

The third volume collected 36 of Mao's articles written between 1941 and 1945 and was published on April 10, 1953. The first printing of this volume totaled 600,000. By the end of 1955, 9,036,500 copies of the first three volumes were published. The fourth and final volume contained 70 articles that Mao wrote from 1945 to September, 1949. Among these 70 articles, 35 were published for the first time. The Communists announced that this final volume would be published in 1957, but it was not until September, 1960, that this volume was released for the public.³⁷ The first printing numbered 1,000,000 copies.³⁸

36. Wang Chien, "The Publication of Mao Tse-tung's Works," Chu Kuo (China Monthly), October, 1964, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, p. 31.

37. Ibid.

38. Fei Chin Yen Chiu (Study on the Bandit Situation), Taipei, Kuo Fan Pu Chin Pao Chu (Ministry of Defense, Republic of China), January 15, 1961, p. 157. This publication is classified on Taiwan but is available for public use in several major libraries on Far Eastern materials in the United States. This issue is obtainable in the Library of Congress.

At the turn of 1960, amidst the disaster of the failure of the Great Leap Forward movement, the Peking leaders initiated an intensive campaign of "Learning the Thought of Mao Tse-tung." The most obvious reason behind this was the declining prestige of Mao and his Party as a result of years of their blunders and the sufferings caused the people.

This disaffection hit the most sensitive part of the Chinese Communist power structure--the army. Hence, in October, 1961, the Political Department of the "People's Liberation Army" edited and released Selected Readings of Mao Tse-tung for use in the armed forces. Marshal Lin Piao, new Minister of Defense, instructed the political commissars in the army that they must³⁹

select the important parts of the articles in the book to study. Every cadre or soldier must select and study several articles that have immediate bearings on our practical life. We must understand their spiritual meaning so as to solve the thought problem current in the armed forces. We must use the thought of Mao Tse-tung as an arrow to shoot at the target--the thought problem prevailing in the armed forces. We must criticize the abstract way of leaping without a goal as we did in the past.

By 1964 this campaign of studying Mao's writings had been widened from soldiers to civilians. Two types of Selected Readings of Mao Tse-tung were published for the general public, editions A and B. Edition A was intended for people with advanced education and had more articles on ideology and organization. Edition B was

39. Kung-Tso Tung-Hsun (Bulletin of Activities), Political Department of the People's Liberation Army, No. 1, 1961. This set of documents was smuggled out of Red China for it was a classified publication in the army. The U.S. State Department released this for public use on August 5, 1963.

intended for workers, peasants and people with limited educational background; it contained more notes on terminology. The military edition understandably contained more writings on troop discipline and indoctrination.

Mao's writings printed in pamphlet form were circulated even before 1949 in both Communist and Nationalist-held territories. Since then only a few of Mao's articles were published in this form. Some of the major ones are listed as follows:⁴⁰

<u>Title</u>	<u>Year of Publication</u>	<u>Number of Copies</u>
"On People's Democratic Dictatorship"	1949-1955	1,589,000
"On Practice"	1949-1955	1,309,000
"Comrade Mao Tse-tung on Educational Work"	1958	463,000
"Imperialists and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers"	-	400,000
"Comrade Mao Tse-tung on Art and Literature"	1958	898,500
"Poems by Mao Tse-tung"	1964	800,000

Although Chinese Communist leaders did not publish much, Liu Shao-chi published his "On Party" and "How to Be a Good Communist." In 1964 a new edition of the latter was published with very few editorial revisions. The Party's historian, Hu Chiao-mu, published

40. These figures are successively from Wang Chien, op. cit., p. 31; ibid.; ibid.; SCMP, No. 1894, pp. 2-3; Wang Chien, op. cit.; and ibid.

his Thirty Years of the Chinese Communist Party in 1951; it was reprinted several times, totaling 7,000,000 copies so far.

Aside from these, most other publications on doctrine were published in pamphlet form. A sample of these is presented here:⁴¹

<u>Title</u>	<u>Number of Copies</u>
"Illustration of National Program for Agricultural Development"	1,700,000
"Model Regulations of Agricultural Production Cooperatives"	11,650,000
"Three Major Documents"	44,130,000
"Five Major Documents of the Chinese Communist Party's Eighth Congress"	41,500,000
"Political Reading Material for Peasants"	1,500,000
"Reading Material for Youth and Children"	59,400,000

All these were printed and circulated in the period of 1949-1957.

The Chinese Communists published few theoretical books of their own on Communism other than Mao's writings, although translations of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin have been extensive. In 1956, however, a two-volume set, Selected Works of Sun Yat-sen, was published. It included such little known articles as "The Telegraphic Message at Lenin's Death." Obviously it was intended to play up Sun's acceptance of Russian help.⁴²

41. From Research Reports, U.S.I.S., Hong Kong Bureau, 1958, p. 104. This publication is not classified but is not circulated in public either.

42. SCMP, No. 1400, p. 3.

Belles Lettres: Modern

Works of Communist literature were statistically impressive. Chao Chuan-lin, Party secretary of the Chinese Writers' Union, reported in his "Ten Years of Literature" that the number of literary journals increased from 18 in 1949 to 86 in 1959; the number of new literary works increased from 156 in 1950 to 2,600 in 1958 and the number of copies printed soared from 2,147,700 in 1950 to 39,364,094 in 1958.⁴³

Qualitatively these works could hardly be considered literature. Even Edgar Snow and Felix Greene, two Western journalists known for their sympathy toward the Peking regime, felt obliged to criticize Communist Chinese literature. After his trip to China in 1960, Snow wrote in The Other Side of the River:⁴⁴

Not much need be said about literature in the People's Republic to date; its condition is roughly analogous to that in the Soviet Union before the "thaw" of 1956. Writing is party-functional for most authors. At its best it involves readers in educationally useful facts; at its worst it is vulgar propaganda.

While visiting China also in 1960, Greene had a lengthy conversation with a Mr. Han, who was general secretary of a chapter of the Writers' Union in Wuhan, Hupei. Greene later commented:⁴⁵

Mr. Han, to me, personified the weakness of the writer's position in China today. In many ways the writers are being encouraged. They are urged to step forward out of the ranks of industrial and commune workers. They are offered financial security, prestige, opportunity for

43. Wen-Yi Pao (Literary Gazette), No. 18, 1959, p. 34.

44. Edgar Snow, The Other Side of the River, New York, Random House, 1962, p. 561.

45. Felix Greene, CHINA: The Country Americans Are Not Allowed to Know, New York, Ballantine Books, 1962, pp. 244-245.

study, even considerable freedom in choice of material. But always the proviso remains in the background: their work must have that certain "sound influence on the readers." And who is to judge the influence? And who is to turn thumbs up or thumbs down when it comes to "electing" new members into this marvelous club which is the Writer's Union? If I were a Chinese writer, I think I would not care to have Mr. Han as arbiter of my destiny....

Since no contemporary Chinese writer really satisfied the Communist Party in China, the Party dug out a dead writer who had been famous in pre-Communist days for his sharp attacks on traditional Chinese values and practices. He was Lu Shun. Lu was noted specifically for two short stories: "The Biography of Ah Q" and "Diary of a Madman." In the former, Ah Q personified the traditional Chinese personality. Lu made Ah Q a pitiful clown who had the distinctive traditional character of infinite rationalization. "Ah Q" was so successfully portrayed that the name has become easily one of the most common Chinese metaphors. In "Diary of a Madman," Lu Shun called classical moralizers "man eaters." He concluded the story with two laconic sentences: "Maybe there are still children who have not eaten any man. Save the children!"

The Communist Chinese have now deified Lu Shun. Mao Tse-tung wrote of him:⁴⁶

The greatest and the most militant standard-bearer of this new culture force.... He was not only a great man of letters, but also a great thinker and a great revolutionary.... Never before had there been so correct, brave, firm, faithful and zealous a national hero as Lu Shun who, representing the great majority

46. SCMP, No. 198, p. 12.

of the people, stormed and ripped open the enemy's cultural front. Lu Shun's direction is precisely the direction of the new culture of the Chinese nation.

In 1951 the People's Literature Publishing House set up a commission of prominent writers to compile Lu Shun's works. By 1954, 1,900,000 copies of his books had been republished. Books on or about Lu Shun were also published in large quantity, totaling some 340,000 copies by 1954.⁴⁷ In 1955 the second edition of Lu Shun's "The Biography of Ah Q" was published, numbering 100,000 copies. It was also translated into English.⁴⁸ By the end of 1959, all 10 volumes of Lu Shun's Complete Works and 10 volumes of Lu Shun's Translated Works had been published. In the same year, three volumes of Ancient Works Compiled and Edited by Lu Shun and Lu Shun's Diary were in press. In 1962, two volumes of Selected Writings of Lu Shun were published.

The irony of all this is that had Lu Shun been alive today, he would most probably have joined the ranks of "rightists" to criticize Party-line literature, for he was essentially a social critic and a liberal. Even Edgar Snow comments that⁴⁹

if Lu Shun lived with the same courage in the same frail body today he would not be able to project life beyond the idiocies and tyrannies in the current set of value-realities--not before the Party itself begins to rectify them. He would not be buried alive; probably he would not even be imprisoned,... But he would certainly be obliged to attempt thought remolding.

47. SCMP, No. 911, p. 25.

48. Ibid., No. 1153, p. 7.

49. Snow, op. cit., p. 562.

Another dead writer resurrected by the Chinese Communist Party was Chu Chi-pai. There is nothing ironical in Chu's case since he was the second leader of the Chinese Communist Party after it was founded. Leading the beleaguered Party briefly during the post-1927 period, Chu was executed by the Kuomintang. He was thus a martyr of the Chinese Communist movement. A 1955 report indicated that 360,000 copies of Chu's writings had been published, including eight volumes of Works by Chu Chi-pai. His translation of a German novel, The Attack of Essen, by Hans Marchwitzas was republished in 1954.⁵⁰

Among the contemporaries of Lu Shun and Chu Chi-pai who are still alive today and have even joined the Communist power elite are Kuo Mo-jo, president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, and Mao Tun, now Minister of Culture. Both Kuo and Mao were known for their leftist leanings in the pre-Communist era. The Collected Works of Kuo Mo-jo were published in four volumes in 1957 and Mao Tun's Works were published in 12 volumes in 1959.⁵¹ Neither of them has produced any significant literary work since 1949, except for propaganda articles. Kuo did some rewriting of Chinese historical figures to fit Marxist-Maoist doctrine. Mao Tun became an editor and literary reviewer in addition to his job as a bureaucrat. In 1952 he blundered by reviewing favorably the book, Fight Till Tomorrow, which was denounced by the Party after a period of acceptance. Mao Tun was obliged to make public self-criticism.⁵²

50. SCMP, No. 1073, p. 4.

51. Wen Hui Pao (Wen Hui Daily), April 14, 1959.

52. Jen-Min Jih-Pao (People's Daily), March 13, 1952.

The regime also created a generation of new writers within a brief period. In 1950 there were 401 members in the All China Writers' Union. In 1959, there were 3,136.⁵³ Who were these writers?⁵⁴

They come from everywhere. Some of them are old cadres with rich experiences in revolutionary fighting. Some practiced writing before but did not resume it until after the liberation of the country. Some were still in their schools when liberation came. But the most noteworthy ones are those from factories, mines, fields, ranches the armed forces.

Whether these people were qualified to be writers did not concern the Party, so long as they were loyal to it. These writers were praised and treated with all sorts of honors. Take, for example, the following report of a group of new creative writers:⁵⁵

A docker, a formerly illiterate peasant, a 63-year-old woman and a girl of a cotton growing team recently lectured on their experiences as creative writers to the Department of Literature of the Central China Teachers' College. They were invited to become occasional lecturers at the college after a Hupeh Provincial folk writers' festival in September [1958].

Reciting and singing from their own works, these amateur writers explained how their creative works derived directly from their work experiences.

Cowherd for a landlord in his childhood, Chang Ching-ho said that he never had a chance to study before the liberation since his family was always on the borderline of starvation. When the liberation came, his life changed for the better and he began to compose songs. He sang in the fields but could not write down his compositions....

With the help of a teacher and with hard work, Chang Ching-ho became literate. In 1952 he was

53. Wen-Yi Pao (Literary Gazette), No. 18, 1959.

54. Ibid., No. 21, 1959.

55. SCMP, No. 1926, p. 28.

made principal of the first school set up in his village. He began to write plays, short stories, ballads and operas.

During land reform, two of his plays, "Down With Landlord Su Yu-hsun" and "Peasants Speak Out Their Grievances," helped encourage the peasants to settle scores with their oppressors.

Elected several times as a model peasant, Chang Ching-ho said that the key to writing was to take an active part in production.

Thus, when we look at the soaring statistics of literary works produced from 1949 to 1959, we must take into account this "new generation of creative writers."

On the whole, publishing of modern literature deteriorated over the years. In the early days of the regime there were some relatively good works such as the novel Defend Yen-an, which reportedly sold 100,000 copies in 1954. In the following year, a book on agricultural cooperatives, Sanliwan, became a "best-seller"; 300,000 copies were sold. The recent trend is toward producing many books on the Party's struggles with Kuomintang in the early 1930's. One of these is A Single Spark Starts a Prairie Fire, a collection of articles and poems by army marshals and generals about their guerilla war experiences. A 1962 report said:⁵⁶

More than twenty million copies of these reminiscences and stories have been published by the China Youth Publishing House in the past six years. Large amount of editions have also been printed by other publishing houses in the country.

Novels and other literary works have been written on the basis of some of the revolutionary reminiscences and stories. Some have been adapted into plays, operas and films.... Many of them

56. SCMP, No. 2735, pp. 22-23.

have been rewritten and published in picture-book form. Excerpts from these books have been included as teaching material in schools and passages are recited at meetings.

The aim of producing such works is twofold. One purpose is to remind people that "things could be worse." This was the purpose during the general disaffection in the post-Great Leap Forward era. The other aim is to make the young people militant Communists so as to ensure continuity of Communist leadership in the future.

Belles Lettres: Classics

Before 1956 publications of classical Chinese literature were limited to a dozen popular novels. Among these were classical novels like San Kuo (Romance of the Three Kingdoms) written in the Yuan Dynasty (1206-1367 A.D.) about the chaotic era following the fall of the Han Dynasty (206-220 A.D.), Shui Hu Chuan (All Men Are Brothers) written in the fourteenth or fifteenth century about a group of outlaws and Hung Lou Mon (Dream of the Red Chamber) written in the eighteenth century about the tragedy of two lovers. The Chinese Communists called Shui Hu Chuan the first Communist literature in China. Mao Tse-tung was said to have learned some guerrilla tactics from this novel. Hung Lou Mon, according to the Communists, "portrays the evils of feudal aristocratic family life and the tragedy of two young lovers, brought about by the arbitrary marriage system."⁵⁷

57. SCMP, No. 716, p. 12.

To republish these classics, the Communists set up the Classical Literature Publishing House. But it seems that other publishing houses have been much more active than this one.

In 1954, the Writers' Publishing House published two famous classics: the satirical Lives of the Scholars, which exposed corruption among the old literati in the Ching (Manchu) Dynasty, and the mythological Legend of the Pilgrimage to the West, written in the sixteenth century about the adventure of a monkey king. The Communists have made the monkey stand for the "proletariat" and his adversaries, "feudal lords." Reprints of the first novel numbered 100,000 copies and the second, 130,000 copies.⁵⁸ In the same year, poems of the Tang Dynasty (618-906 A.D.) were collected and republished.

The Classical Literature Publishing House in 1954 reprinted 30 classical books, mostly poetry and novels that contained some criticism of the old society.⁵⁹ In the following year, it republished 60 classical works including one of the oldest historical writings, Tso Chuan, which recorded the Spring and Autumn Period (between the eighth and fifth centuries B.C.) when China produced several important scholars, like Confucius and Mencius.⁶⁰

The year 1956 seems to mark a turning point in the regime's policy toward classical literature. It quietly began to salvage classical books which it had wanted to eliminate in 1950-1952. When a group of book dealers in Szechwan province salvaged from

58. SCMP, No. 824.

59. Ibid., No. 812, p. 20; the interpretations are mine.

60. Ibid., No. 1082, p. 14.

tons of litter in a paper mill a pile of classical books which "weighed more than 10,300 catties"* and resold the books to research organs, the Szechwan Daily commented:⁶¹

Classical books are the most precious cultural legacy of our nation, and their value can hardly be measured in terms of money. There is no need for us to discuss here how much money the second-hand book dealers made from the litter piles. Quite on the contrary, we have to thank them for salvaging the cultural legacy of the nation for us, for once they are made into paper pulps, there is no way to recover them, even with one or two thousand dollars.

Even classical historical writings were republished. In 1956, the Classical Literature Publishing House reprinted Tze Chih Tung Chien, a historical chronicle compiled by scholars in the Sung Dynasty (960-1126 A.D.). It covers the period from 413 B.C. to 959 A.D. The ancient Chinese encyclopedia, Yi Wen Lei Chu of the seventh century, was republished in facsimile edition by Chung Hua Book Company. The encyclopedia contained 48 sections covering astronomy, geography, history, agriculture, industry, literature and animals. It was published in 100 volumes.⁶² Chung Hua also republished part of another classical encyclopedia, Yung Lo Ta Tien, which was compiled by Ming (1368-1661) scholars. Originally published in 11,095 volumes, only 215 survive today. The Communist press reported that the Soviet Union had returned 64 volumes of this encyclopedia which Czarist troops had seized in Peking during the allies' invasion after the Boxer Rebellion. East Germany

61. Szechwan Jih Pao (Szechwan Daily), October 26, 1956.

62. SCMP, No. 2056, pp. 4-5.

* Equal to 13,699 pounds (1 catty = 1.33 lb.).

was also reported to have returned three volumes that German troops acquired in the same invasion.⁶³

As of 1959 the regime's policy toward classics seemed to be to publish only those that could be easily reinterpreted and those that were apolitical such as encyclopedias. On the other hand, the regime also kept up its pressure on those publishing houses which republished classical works by subjecting them to constant criticisms. The publishing houses dutifully pleaded guilty. The following report illustrates this pressure from the Party:⁶⁴

The publication of classical literary writings by us has had a directive from the very outset. We should say that our directive is basically to prefer the present to the past, and that we have made this directive quite clear. When books and manuscripts were found contrary to this directive, we rectified and criticized them. But many problems still exist in our publication of classic literary writings. The press has recently criticized Wei Chuang's Works by us. Not only are mistakes found in the epilogue and the appendix of this book, but we have failed to point out or to criticize those of Wei Chuang's poems which condemn the peasant insurrection led by Huang Chao. The Four Kinds of Jokes of the Ming and Ching Dynasties, published by us, not only contains obscene stories but also inveighs against those with physical deformities. Books like this can be pointed out as reference materials. But it is wrong to publish them in large numbers.* Besides, in the preface to The Selected Essays of Hsun Tze, we describe the essays as possessed of all the past and present perfections; in the preface to The Selected Poems of Tu Mu, we describe the "Ode to Afang Palace" as sympathetic with the peasant insurrection led by Chen Sheng and Wu Kuang. When The Selected Poems of Su Shih was

63. SCMP, No. 2096, p. 2.

64. Ibid., No. 1824, p. 48.

* The italics are this writer's.

being revised, we time and again asserted that it was wrong, either in the preface or in the epilogue, to vindicate one's own actions by "the thought one school." But we did not persist in this principle, and retained the original preface after converting it into an epilogue. In The Peach Blossom Fan and The Chansheng Palace, both published recently, the old prefaces are printed in the No. 4 type, making them seem more important than the new prefaces.* Mistakes like these are too many to be enumerated....

The above was part of the self-criticism of "the fourth and fifth editorial staffs" of the People's Literature Publishing House. But it also seemed to be a letter of frustrated protest-- in its attitude of "We have done everything but the Party is still not satisfied." This self-criticism also reveals four ways that the Party tries to integrate the past with the present: (1) To insert critical remarks on old writings in the form of footnotes or something similar when there are places in the original text that do not fit present Communist doctrine; (2) to limit the number of reprints of some classics or to classify them as reference books which presumably are limited to a small group of readers; (3) to use mechanical devices to make the old inconspicuous by using smaller types for certain words; and (4) to add a new preface that introduces or evaluates the book in Communist terms. The fourth way is used most often.

In 1960 the Ancient Manuscript Restoration Department of the Chinese Academy of Sciences issued a "Draft of a Three-to-Eight-Year Plan for Restoring and Publishing Ancient Manuscripts on a Selective Basis." This plan reaffirmed the need to put a new

* The italics are this writer's.

preface in every reprint of old books and also called for improvement of the republication of old books by providing "favourable condition for scientific study."⁶⁵

In 1961 a book entitled Stories of People Who Do Not Fear Ghosts appeared in both Chinese and English. It contained stories taken from classical literature. In the preface to the book, Ho Chi-fang, director of the Literature Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and editor of this book, called "U.S. imperialists" and "modern revisionists" "devils, ghosts and goblins of the modern world" and exhorted readers to have the courage of those ancient heroes and not to be afraid of such devils. This, then, was what the Communists intended to "provide proper political guidance" for the readers of classical works.

In 1963, the Communists claimed that 1,800 classical works had been republished since 1949. The press report that gave this figure of 1,800 also gave some examples of the republished works. They were the same old San Kuo, Shui Hu Chuan, Hung Lou Mon, encyclopedias, etc.⁶⁶

There is as yet no indication that this policy of reinterpreting the old will be changed in a drastic manner in the near future.

History and Economics

The political and economic development of China since the Opium War had been studied largely by Western rather than Chinese scholars. After 1949 the Chinese Communists quickly moved into

65. Kwang Ming Jih Pao (Kwang Ming Daily), January 18, 1961.

66. SCMP, No. 2824, p. 18 and No. 3021, p. 19.

this vacuum by establishing two research organizations: the Chinese Society of New Historical Studies and the Chinese Society of New Economic Studies.

In 1952, the first of 12 research projects in the Chinese Modern History Series, edited by the Chinese Society of New Historical Studies, was already in circulation. The first series was about the Boxer Rebellion. In the same year, the second project, which was the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864), was completed with the publication of eight volumes of books on this subject. The Chinese Communists paid special attention to this rebellion. The Taiping rebels had been mostly rural vagrants and their leaders had had a sort of ideology with the elimination of the traditional Chinese social and moral system as its main objective. In many ways the Communists identified themselves with the Taiping rebels. According to the Communist press, "to compile this series, almost all documents and files available in China concerning the Taiping Tien Kuo* have been included in the collection, comprising 15 items of Taiping official papers, documents, files, reproductions of bronze and stone inscriptions, and autobiographies of Taiping Tien Kuo princes."⁶⁷ In 1953 this series of books on the Taiping Rebellion went through a second printing, and the series on the Boxer Rebellion went through a third printing.

The remaining 10 research projects of the Chinese Modern History Series were on the Opium War, two minority uprisings in the China

67. SCMP, No. 397, p. 39.

* Taiping Tien Kuo means "Heavenly Kingdom of Universal Peace" which was the formal title of the rebel group.

Dynasty, the Manchu's reform movement, the Sino-Japanese War, the Sino-French War, the revolution of 1911, warlords and the May 4 movement.

From 1956 to 1961 several books on the Republican revolution of Sun Yat-sen were published. They included The 1911 Revolution, Traitor Yuan Shih-kai, Selected Essays on Current Politics in the Ten-Year Period Preceding 1911, Selected Works of Sun Yat-sen and A Historical Record of Chiu Chin.^{*} It was reported that by 1961, 10 books and 200 monographs on the 1911 revolution had been published.⁶⁸

Works on ancient Chinese history by scholars working in pre-Communist China were selectively republished. There were Kuo Mo-jo's Epoch of Slavery, A Study of the Ancient Society, Bronze Age, and Studies of the Inscriptions of Bronze Wares. In 1962 it was reported that the following publications were underway: a collection of Chinese historical maps, an annotated History of the Yuan Dynasty, a study of bureaucrat-landlords of the Ming Dynasty and Land Ownership and Peasant Uprisings of the Chin and Han Dynasty.⁶⁹ By and large, the Communists attempted to rewrite Chinese history according to the Marxian model of social change and historical development, from slave, feudal and capitalist to Communist society.

The Communists also made a big effort to rewrite China's economic history. In 1952 the Chinese Society of New Historical Studies and the Chinese Society of New Economic Studies formed a

68. SCMP, No. 2523, p. 25.

69. Ibid., No. 2761, p. 19.

* Chiu Chin was a Republican revolutionary. She was arrested and executed by the Manchu government.

joint editorial committee for a project entitled: "Series of Data and Materials on Modern Chinese Economic History." The main historical period covered by this research project was 1900-1950. And in 1952 the following books were being published: Coal Mines of the Kailan Mining Administration, The Peking Syndicate, Treaty Ports and Concessions, and China's New Industry Before 1894.⁷⁰

In 1956, a comprehensive Collected Data on the Contemporary Economic History of China was being compiled. It covered the years from 1940 to 1948. According to the plan, volumes on industry, agriculture and handicrafts would be published before the end of the year.⁷¹ In 1961, a new series of books on Chinese currency was reported to have been compiled. In the following year, Economic History of Shanghai was published; it contained "nine articles exposing imperialist plunder of Shanghai,...prior to the liberation."⁷² In the same year it was announced that a new book on China's population, land and agricultural taxes during the past two thousand years would be published soon.⁷³

Science, Technology, Agriculture and Medicine

Like the Soviets, the Chinese Communists also have greater interest in applied than theoretical science. As Table III shows, in

70. SCMP, No. 265, p. 11.

71. Ibid., No. 1250, p. 14.

72. Ibid., No. 3001, p. 12.

73. Ibid., No. 2725. It should be noted, however, that these books deal exclusively with events before the formal establishment of the Peking regime in 1949. No such research project on post-1950 development has been initiated.

every year from 1950 to 1958, the "engineering and technology" category produced more new titles than any of the other branches of science.

The two most authoritative publishing houses for scientific publications were the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the Science Publishing House.

Table III
New Book Titles on Science and Technology
Published in Communist China, 1949-1950*

Year	Books on Natural Science	Medicine	Engineering and Technology	Agriculture
1949	18	4	7	1
1950	38	30	81	7
1951	76	126	176	7
1952	114	178	179	7
1953	217	204	270	19
1954	356	307	410	47
1955	415	399	452	72
1956	494	552	1,287	58
1957	801	634	988	85
1958	1,029	930	2,375	75

* Data are from Chinese Publishing Statistics, 1949-1959, Association for Asian Studies, Committee on American Library Resources on the Far East, Ann Arbor, Michigan, December, 1960.

From 1950 to 1955, the Chinese Academy of Sciences published 2,500,000 copies of some 300 scientific books.⁷⁴ The Science Publishing House published 38 books in 1954, 84 in 1955, 90 in 1956 and 348 in 1957. Of the 348 books in 1957, 125 were original works by Chinese scientists and 205 were translations. It then planned to publish 467 books in 1958 and increase the number of original works to 240. "In 1957, calculating on the basis of number of words published, 16 percent were on mathematics, physics and chemistry, 17 percent on geography and 5.6 percent on technology. It was planned that in 1958, 24 percent of the total printed wordage would be on mathematics, physics, chemistry and technology, with 19 percent on geography."⁷⁵ It is rather peculiar to calculate the proportions of types of books published on the basis of wordage. But the above report does indicate that the Communists seemed to realize the importance of basic theoretical science. Yet Professor Klochko, former Soviet scientific adviser to Red China, found something quite different. He discovered that the Peking leaders distrusted qualified scientists and overlooked the importance of basic research.⁷⁶

To a considerable extent, the state of Chinese science today can be accounted for by Mao's understanding--or we should rather say misunderstanding--of the role of science in a modern country. It cannot be said, however, that the Chinese leaders are altogether unaware of the importance of science for the national economy or military capabilities of their country. Important sums of money have been allotted for the construction

74. SCMP, No. 1061, p. 29.

75. Ibid., No. 1591, p. 17 and No. 1691, p. 13.

76. Klochko, op. cit., p. 203.

of research institutes, to keep large numbers of research workers on the payroll, to supply them with the necessary equipment and materials, to purchase specialized literature and apparatus abroad and, above all, to send, during the past ten years, at least 10,000 Chinese to complete their studies abroad--mostly in the countries of the Communist block, above all in the Soviet Union. But even these allocations for scientific development are minimal for so large a country. But that is not the main trouble. Recognition of the importance of science does not imply a grasp of the ways and means of science and research. Yet this is indispensable if science is to flourish and if the best use is to be made of its learning for the nation. It is precisely this point that the Chinese leaders have failed to understand. They do not see that basic, pure research is the cornerstone of all applied science. Instead, projects of pure science are mercilessly tossed out by the bureaucrats. This dooms Chinese applied science from the start, and forces it to imitate foreign prototypes and borrow alien ideas.

The Party's ignorance was of such a nature that Klochko found students were told to write their own text-books on chemistry:⁷⁷

...the greatest surprise awaited me in one section of the normal school where about fifteen students were sitting around a large table cluttered with books and paper, writing and arguing hotly about something.

"What are they doing?" I asked.

"Preparing a textbook on organic chemistry."

"Who are they? Teachers? Graduate students?"

"No, they are second-year students. They are just beginning to study organic chemistry, and they are writing their textbook as they go along."

"Why? Are there no organic chemistry textbooks in Chinese?"

"There is one, written by some teachers at Peking University, but it isn't suited to our needs."

77. Ibid., p. 138.

The students use it, but they are trying to adapt it to the conditions of Yunnan Province."

"Are the laws of organic chemistry different in Yunnan and Peking?" I wanted to know.

I received no answer to that question.

The Party's distrust of renowned scientists described in Klochko's book resulted not only in lack of genuine scientific progress but also in scientific publications of low quality. The real scientists were not asked to contribute their knowledge. This and the low educational background of the editorial personnel in publishing houses were responsible for mistakes in the scientific text books. The following two letters-to-the-editor illustrate the point:⁷⁸

Books are spiritual food most cherished by the people. They are the treasurehouse of scientific knowledge. However, some books are replete with errors and slips due to negligence on the part of editors and publishers. This causes us a lot of headaches. Take the General Physics compiled by the General Physics Seminar of the Physics Department of Peking University (published by the People's Education Publishing House, and printed and bound by Hsin Hua Printing Company). I have finished 139 pages and have come across 32 mistakes. Even in its fourth edition, many errors remain. Also, there were as many as 149 errors in Dynamics Manual compiled by the Physics Department of the Kiangsu Normal College....

Some newly-published textbooks for higher educational institutes have with them lists of "errata." This is to be appreciated in spite of the trouble involved in reading. However, some books are provided with no "errata" but not because they contain few errors. Take Advanced Algebra (compiled by the Mathematics Department

78. Jen-Min Jih-Pao (People's Daily), April 2, 1962.

of Fudan University) for instance. In one exercise problem alone on page 76, I found five errors. This cost me a lot of time in classroom demonstration. While I don't know the process a book goes through before its publication, I do hope that the editors and publishers will cooperate with the printers to reduce errors to a minimum.

Scientific books in Communist China, as in the Soviet Union, serve propaganda purposes. As a disillusioned African student who studied medicine in Peking describes:⁷⁹

I remember the day my class in the Institute of Foreign Languages was issued copies of a new textbook for chemistry. The first chapter gave the definition of matter. It began: "Lenin said ...," and there then followed something that Comrade Lenin considered to be the correct definition of matter. But this definition conflicted so violently with everything I had learned before that I promptly raised the point with the instructor. She explained to me very patiently that what our class was expected to do was to master some technical terms; we were not to worry about Lenin's definition of matter. And so I stopped worrying. But millions of high school students all over China have really got something to worry about; that book is their foundation textbook in chemistry. Now, of course, Lenin is a very important political thinker. But did you know he was also a great physicist and chemist? You didn't? Well, the Chinese Communist Party says he is, and the Party must be right whatever the rest of the world says!

A distinctive feature of Chinese Communist science publishing has been that many classical writings on medicine and agriculture were republished. In order to save foreign exchange, the regime has made a major effort to modernize old Chinese herb medicine. The People's Medical Publishing House planned to publish 22 books on traditional medicine in 1955. Books on traditional acupuncture

79. Emmanuel John Hevi, "An African Student in Red China," Harper's Magazine, January, 1964, p. 65.

and cautery were especially emphasized and in 1955, over 100,000 copies of them were published and sold.⁸⁰ In 1957, the most well-known classical work on herbs, Compendium of Material Medica, was republished. It was the first empirical research on Chinese herbs by a traditional scholar.⁸¹

Publications on agronomy, both modern and classical, have been on the rise since the Great Leap Forward movement. In 1958 the Agricultural Publishing House was set up. In the same year, an encyclopedia of insecticides in rural China was compiled by the Chinese Academy of Sciences. It was reported that by 1962, more than 80 books on agronomy, fertilizers and insecticides would be published.⁸² Classical works on agriculture were also printed. For example, a book on the agricultural production of the Wei River Plain by an author in 32 B.C. was republished in 1956.⁸³ After the Soviet withdrawal of scientific assistance in 1961, Mao Tse-tung called for "self-reliance." More classical books were published. From 1958 to 1962, 30 classical works on agriculture were published.⁸⁴ In 1963, three classical works on agriculture, written in the Sung Dynasty, Tang Dynasty and Ching Dynasty were republished.

It is not clear what real functions these classical books can serve to improve the nation's scientific development. One can only

80. SCMP, No. 1123, pp. 29-30.

81. Ibid., No. 1533, p. 2.

82. Ibid., No. 2846, pp. 11-12.

83. Ibid., No. 1404, pp. 24-25.

84. Ibid., No. 2737, p. 21.

speculate that this is still another peculiar way of expressing the Chinese Communist Party's "nationalism."

Dictionaries

It was not until 1957 that the regime turned to publishing reference books like dictionaries. The government announced in 1957 that a new dictionary of the Chinese language would be compiled by the Institute of Linguistics and Philology of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.⁸⁵ In the same year, the Chung Hua Book Company was again given the right to revise and publish the comprehensive Chinese dictionary, Tzu Hai (Sea of Words). This was first published by Chung Hua in 1936. It contained 11 million characters. The new edition contained "additional terms and expressions reflecting the Socialist construction of new China and the progressive trends since the May 4th cultural revolution in 1911."⁸⁶

In 1961 the Commercial Press was given the right to publish Tzu Yuan (Origin of Words), the most comprehensive dictionary of classical Chinese. However, revisions had to be made by the Commercial Press as required by the government. The new edition would contain more than 100,000 entries and would be published in four volumes.⁸⁷

A group of other dictionaries have also been published since 1962, such as A Dictionary for Students, A Dictionary for Peasants,

85. SCMP, No. 1456, p. 4.

86. Ibid., No. 1976, p. 26.

87. Ibid., No. 2830, p. 11.

A Little Glossary of Chinese Idioms and a dictionary for Communist cadres, called A New Dictionary Using the Index of 4-Corner Strokes. The so-called "index of 4-corner strokes" is a way to look up a Chinese character in a dictionary. It was devised by Wang Yuen-wu, former general manager of the Commercial Press in the early Republican era.* He assigned numbers from 0 to 9 to the ten basic strokes that constitute most Chinese characters. By identifying the number of the four strokes which form the four outer corners of a character, one can look up the word. This system is useful to a certain extent, but it is not applicable to a comprehensive dictionary like Tzu Hai (Sea of Words). That the dictionary for the cadres uses this system means that it has a limited number of characters and hence the literacy of the Communist cadres is still low.

Peking's increasing interest in Asian nations has given much momentum to the publication of Vietnamese-Chinese, Hindu-Chinese, Japanese-Chinese, Indonesian-Chinese, Arabic-Chinese, Burmese-Chinese, Thai-Chinese and Chinese-Japanese dictionaries. Peking would undoubtedly publish African-Chinese dictionaries if the African nations had a unified language in each state. But so far the Chinese have made no such attempt.

The two European languages for which the greatest number of dictionaries have been compiled are Russian and English. There are six Russian-Chinese dictionaries from The Student's Miniature Russian-Chinese Dictionary to A Comprehensive Russian-Chinese Dictionary of Aeronautical Terms. There is also one Chinese-

* Wang is now on Taiwan.

Russian Dictionary. In contrast, there are 12 different English-Chinese (or vice versa) dictionaries, from A Pocket English-Chinese Dictionary to A Chinese-English Dictionary of Common Scientific and Technical Terms. Other Chinese-European language dictionaries include Spanish, French, German, Czech, Hungarian and Rumanian.

Popular Reading Materials

Since the Party distrusts the "intellectuals"--anyone with more than junior high school education--it must rely on cadres of peasant and worker origin. Since 1949, the Communist Party of China has tried its best to recruit into its ranks urban workers and the younger generation of peasants. In order to provide a common orientation among these basic cadres and between the cadres and the leadership, many popular readers have been published. These materials meet the workers' and peasants' low literacy by combining simple text with illustrations.

In 1952, the Workers Publishing House published millions of copies of popular readers like The Precious Bottle-Gourds (799,000 copies), Mutual Aid (368,000 copies), Our Fatherland is a Large Family (892,000), Diary of a Visit to the Soviet Union (248,000 copies), etc.⁸⁸

In 1953, the People's Publishing House published the first of a series of 20 books under the general title: "Literary Works for Elementary Readers Series." These were intended for people with

88. SCMP, No. 475, p. 19.

primary school educational background. They collected easy-to-understand classical writings like episodes from Shui Hu Chuan (All Men Are Brothers), works of the recent past like Lu Shun's "Home Town" and contemporary works like Kuo Mo-jo's "The Banner of Mao Tse-tung is Fluttering in the Breeze," and Pa Chin's "We Saw Commander Peng Teh-huai."* These books contained numerous illustrations to facilitate understanding and promote interest.⁸⁹

A series of 21 picture-books were published in 1955, based on the classical Shui Hu Chuan. They were part of 112 picture-book series published in Peking. It was also reported that from 1951 to 1955, in Peking and Shanghai, 4,700 picture-books had been published, circulating 135,000,000 copies.⁹⁰ By 1959, the nation had turned out 20,000 picture-books with 600,000,000 copies. In 1958 alone, 3,000 were produced with 120,000,000 copies.⁹¹

These picture books are mostly 10 x 13 mm. The pictures are either cartoons or photographs, although the former predominate. Some of the books are war stories about both the Communist-Kuomintang civil war and the Korean War. A large number of those on the Korean War were produced between 1952 and 1954. Some help promote specific social reforms such as the New Marriage Law. For example, one book tells how a mother turned her son in to the Communist authorities

89. SCMP, No. 537, p. 14.

90. Ibid., No. 1131, p. 3.

91. Ibid., No. 2383, p. 20.

* Pa Chin, like Lu Shun, was a famous essayist in the pre-Communist days but is now working with the Communists. Peng Teh-huai was Red China's Defense Minister until 1959 when he was purged.

because he had joined a group of anti-Communist guerrillas. Occasionally Soviet works have been translated and simplified in these picture books. Most of these books require the literacy level of a sixth-grader. Some of them have phonetic symbols (Chinese system) beside every word in the text so that a man who has just learned the few basic phonetic symbols can understand the text by reading them aloud.

In 1962 the government called for publication of more pocket-books. The pioneering series, Chung Hua's "Series of Pocket Books on Foreign History" and China Youth Publishing House's "Series of Pocket Books on Geography" were reportedly very successful. They were edited jointly by the publishing houses and the Peking Institute for Advanced Teaching.⁹² The writers of these books were middle school teachers.

Another category of popular publications is the "New Year Card." These cards have the same function and meaning as Western Christmas cards. But the Chinese Communists have politicized them.

The quantity of New Year Cards published over the years is presented in Table IV.

The two publishing houses in charge of these New Year Cards are the People's Art Publishing House and the Chinese Film Publishing House. A 1963 report indicates how active these publishing houses were in turning out the New Year Cards:⁹³

92. Jen-Min Jih-Pao (People's Daily), October 13, 1962.

93. Kwang Ming Jih Pao (Kwang Ming Daily), November 13, 1963.

Table IV

Publications of New Year Cards
in Communist China⁹⁴

Year	Number of Copies
1950	8,000,000
1952	40,000,000
1954	60,000,000
1963	160,000,000

New Year picture cards and serial picture-books are the most popular in rural areas. This year publishing houses in Peking have adopted measures to increase the variety of works to meet the demands of rural readers. This year, the People's Art Publishing House has planned to increase its publication of rural readers by about 100 percent as compared with last year. This publishing house has published two volumes of collections of selected serial picture-cards. The Film Publishing House has published a number of picture-books based on popular motion picture scenes. It has paid special attention to the quality of the picture-books, printing the pictures as clearly as possible, strengthening the continuity of pictures, simplifying the text of captions, adding pronunciation symbols to difficult characters, adding explanatory notes to difficult terms and using big type, so the rural readers will find it easy to read. The People's Art Publishing House planned to turn out 10,000,000 picture-cards to depict various aspects of the country life and the increasing prosperity of the nation under the leadership of the Party.

94. The figures of 1950 and 1954 are from SCMP, No. 468, p. 11 and No. 936, p. 30. The figure of 1964 is from Jen-Min Jih-Pao (People's Daily), January 20, 1963.

Children's Books

There are few children's authors in China. The Communist regime, however, has planned to produce large numbers of books for children. There are now two big children's publishing houses, one in Peking and one in Shanghai. Aside from these two, there is a special committee within the Ministry of Culture to screen children's literature. There is also a special children's section in the Chinese Writers' Union.

Foreign children's books have also been translated into Chinese; they are more or less non-political--Hans Christian Andersen's works, Stevenson's Treasure Island, Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, Mark Twain's Huckleberry Finn, Swift's Gulliver's Travels and The Arabian Nights.

Works published by Chinese authors are mostly political propaganda. A well publicized children's book, The Story of Lo Wen-ying, tells about a school boy's longing for membership in the Young Pioneers--a Communist youth organization. The story goes like this:⁹⁵

He [Lo Wen-ying] wants very much to become a Young Pioneer, but to attain that honour he will have to do very well in class. The trouble is, he doesn't know how to divide his time between homework and play. His classmates and friends try and help him and he eventually finds the way to solve this universal problem, winning the right to wear the coveted red scarf.

Another picture-book for children, Chang Yu Boils the Sea, is based on a folk legend. It tells how the hero, a young wood-cutter,

95. Tien Tao, "Better Books for Children," China Reconstructs, Peking, February, 1955, p. 25.

fell in love with the sea-king's daughter:⁹⁶

The father locked the girl up, but she managed to get hold of his magic talismans and smuggle them to her lover. Chang Yu then used these powers to boil the sea, forcing the old king to agree to the match. This old story, like so many from other parts of the world, is directed against feudal restraints on the right of young people to choose their own partners.

Children's books reflecting the regime's foreign policy have also been written, such as Heroic Cuba, published in 1962. A general trend toward more political propaganda seems to have prevailed since 1958. A 1961 "survey" found that "the firm favorites of Chinese children were epics of heroes who excelled in the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle."⁹⁷

Table V
Children's Literature Published in Communist China⁹⁸

Year	Titles	Number of Copies Produced in This Period
1949-1954	2,800	60,000,000
1955-1959	8,900	300,000,000
1959-1961*	9,300	240,000,000

96. Ibid.

97. SCMP, No. 2506, p. 25.

98. The figures for 1949-1954 are from SCMP, No. 1959, p. 33 and the figures for 1955-1959 are from SCMP, No. 2506, p. 25.

* The figures of 1959-1961 are estimates from the same report that gives the figures for 1955-1959.

Publishing for the Minority Peoples in China

China has 50 minority groups besides the majority Han race. The total minority population as of 1960 was 38,000,000.⁹⁹ The minority-dominant areas are in border regions, mostly in Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang, Tibet and Yunnan.

The Chinese Communists were the first to implement a systematic program integrating the minority races in a "Greater China." The Institute of National Minorities in Peking trained young cadres of different racial groups and sent them back after graduation to carry out the regime's plan of integration.

In 1953 the Nationality Publishing House was set up. Its major task was the translation of Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. However, before this could be done, written languages had to be developed for most of these minority groups as they had lived in an almost wholly oral environment until the Communists moved in after 1949.

By 1957, 20 written languages were worked out for 15 minority groups. Most of these were residents along the Sino-Burmese and Sino-Vietnamese borders. For those groups that had some sort of written language of their own, revisions were made to make the language more comprehensive. These were the Mongol, Kazakh, Kolkoz, Uzluk and Tartar peoples who roamed over Mongolia and Sinkiang.¹⁰⁰

99. Jen Min Shou Tse (People's Handbook), Teintsin, Ta-Kung Pao, 1960, p. 274.

100. Kwang Ming Jih Pao (Kwang Ming Daily), September 30, 1957.

The Nationality Publishing House published 2,900 books totaling 2,470,000 copies from 1953 to 1963. It translated and printed the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, volumes one to four in Mongolian, volumes one and two in Tibetan, volumes one, two and four in Uighur, volumes one to four in Korean and volumes one and four in Kazakh, totaling 321,000 copies.¹⁰¹ By 1964 Sinkiang had published all four volumes of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. In addition, Mao's articles "On Practice," "On Contradiction" and "Talks on the Yen-an Forum on Art and Literature" were published in booklet form in the Uighur, Kazakh and Mongolian languages.¹⁰² Possibly the quality of these translations was not high for in 1962 the Ministry of Culture and the Nationalities Affairs Commission jointly sponsored a seminar in which invited linguists discussed the translation of Mao's works into minority languages. The seminar resolved that if an equivalent expression was lacking in a minority language, the Chinese expression should be used instead of borrowing another minority language's terms.¹⁰³

Books other than Mao's were also published in minority languages. From 1953 to 1963, the Nationality Publishing House turned out 290 titles of books. Among these 55 dealt with Marxism-Leninism and 290,000 copies of them were circulated.¹⁰⁴ Other publishing houses also compiled dictionaries such as the Uighur-

101. Ming Tzu Hua Pao (Nationality Pictorial), January, 1963, pp. 12-13.

102. SCMP, No. 3207, p. 15.

103. Ibid., No. 2671, p. 21.

104. Kwang Ming Jih Pao (Kwang Ming Daily), January 16, 1963.

Han (Chinese) Dictionary by the Sinkiang People's Publishing House, Tibetan-Han Dictionary by the Chinese Academy of Sciences and a Chinese-Mongolian Dictionary by the Inner Mongolian Institute of Philology and Literature.

The Mongols are culturally more advanced than other minority peoples in China. In 1955, the Inner Mongolian People's Publishing House was already planning to publish 1,250,000 books of Mao's and Stalin's writings and of science.¹⁰⁵ In the following year, the number of books published by this house was increased to 3,730,000 copies. "Peasants and pastoral folk of the Mongol nationality may now buy from offices of the Hsin Hua Book Company and other selling agencies throughout the region."¹⁰⁶ In 1960 blind people of the Mongolian race had books printed in braille. "Twenty-five thousand books on politics, economy, history and literature will be printed in braille in the Mongolian language...and a regular magazine will be published."¹⁰⁷

On the whole the Chinese government's penetration into these minority communities is remarkable. Hsin Hua Book Company has set up agencies and selling stalls all over these minority regions. For example, in Yunnan, which holds a large population of Tibetans;¹⁰⁸

In the larger market places in the countryside, all kinds of books are obtainable from the nationalities' trading companies. The mobile service stations of the book stores also regularly visit the different localities in the

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105. SCMP, No. 1022, p. 33.
106. Ibid., No. 1415, p. 18.
107. Ibid., No. 2334, p. 18.
108. Ibid., No. 1740, p. 18.

countryside to sell their books. In the more remote places with few means of communication, the post offices offer to sign contracts with local supply and marketing cooperatives so that newspapers and magazines can reach the readers in those spots.

In order to meet the demand of the readers in the countryside and the frontiers, the Hsin Hua Book Company and the post offices are making continuous efforts to improve their work. The Kaiyuan branch of Hsin Hua, for example, always sends books and magazines to people who come to town on market days.

IV

Translation of Foreign Books in Communist China

The Apparatus

In the early years of the regime when the Publications Administration was still functioning, there was a Translation Bureau under its administration. From 1950 to 1951, this bureau translated 85 foreign books, predominantly Soviet books.¹⁰⁹ In November, 1951, the Translation Bureau called a national translation conference. It resolved that the state should decide which books were to be translated every year. The same conference also rubber-stamped the Publications Administration's "A Selection of Items for Translation in the Nation for the Year of 1952."¹¹⁰ In the same year, the private Shidai (Era) Publishing Company was turned into an agency exclusively for translating books and periodicals from the Soviet Union.¹¹¹

In 1953 a special bureau under the Party's Central Committee was set up to translate works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin into Chinese. This continues to be the job of this bureau today.

The Chinese Academy of Sciences set up a translation and publication committee in 1956. Its main job was to supervise

109. Kung Fei Chung Yao Tse Liao Hwui Pien, op. cit., p. 13.

110. SCMP, No. 222, pp. 8-9.

111. Ibid., No. 111, pp. 18-19.

translations of scientific publications.¹¹² Other publishing houses like the Science Publishing House, the Mechanical Engineering Press, and the Chinese Forestry Press, also translate foreign books.

The Soviet Era

Until recently, Russian books dominated translation work in Communist China. A 1955 report testifies to this:¹¹³

Since the liberation of the whole country, because of the concern shown by the Communist Party and the People's Government, translation and publishing work in China has developed greatly. From October, 1949, to May of this year, China translated and published books from some 30 countries totaling more than 10,000 titles. Of these, 84 percent were Russian books with more than 8,400 titles. A greater and greater proportion of Russian books has been translated every year....

The works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin occupy the leading place among all the books translated. From October, 1949, to May of this year, 209 of their works have been translated.

A great part of the books translated are on social sciences. These works introduce the experience of other peoples in revolutionary struggles, especially the Soviet people.... There are more than 2,000 titles of such books being translated, of which 1,900 are Soviet books.

Books on natural science and production techniques amounted to more than 3,400 titles.... Among these, 2,400 were Soviet books....

Between 1949 and 1960, more than 300 works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin were translated. More than 50,000,000 copies

112. SCMP, No. 1304, pp. 11-12.

113. Jen-Min Jih-Pao (People's Daily), August 30, 1955.

were circulated. Among these were the Complete Works of Lenin in 39 volumes and Complete Works of Stalin in 13 volumes.¹¹⁴ In 1956, two volumes of Collections of Writings in Criticism of Stalin were published, presumably as a result of Khrushchev's de-Stalinization. All in all, by 1959 the translation of Stalin's works into Chinese totaled 15,584,000 copies.¹¹⁵

Translation of Lenin's works has been a continuing project in China. More than 6,600,000 copies of his works were published from 1949 to 1959. These included 50,000 copies of Lenin's Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, 289,000 copies of State and Revolution and 240,000 copies of The Task of the Youth League.¹¹⁶

From 1949 to 1958, 71 books and 4,750,000 copies of works by Marx and Engels were translated into Chinese and circulated. These included 630,000 copies of the Communist Manifesto and 430,000 copies of Capital.¹¹⁷ The Complete Works of Marx and Engels was published in 30 volumes. Other works of Marx and Engels translated included Wage, Labor and Capital, Value, Price and Profit, Theories of Surplus Values, Civil War in France, Dialects of Nature, etc. To facilitate understanding of these books, simplified versions of them were published for workers and peasants. From 1953 to 1957, 343 popular readers of Marxism-Leninism with 49,000,000 copies were published.¹¹⁸

Among other Soviet books translated were four volumes of Selected Works of Gorky and works by Ilya Ehrenburg and Alexei Surkov. In

114. SCMP, No. 2378, p. 27.

115. Nan-Fang Jih-Pao (Southern Daily), December 21, 1959.

116. SCMP, No. 2010, p. 2.

117. Ibid., No. 1767, p. 9.

118. Ibid., No. 1644, pp. 6-8.

1955 the Psychological Laboratory of the Chinese Academy of Sciences published Selected Works of I. P. Pavlov with 10,000 copies. The People's Medical Publishing House also published 40 works of Pavlov between 1953 and 1955, totaling 500,000 copies.¹¹⁹

To see if the Sino-Soviet dispute has affected Red China's translation of Soviet books, we did a sampling of the Chinese National Bibliography. Available to us were the issues of the second half of 1959, 1963 and 1965. But the issues of the bibliography in 1959 came out three times a month while those from 1963 to 1965 came out twice a month. Thus a single issue in the former year covered fewer days than a single issue in the latter. If despite that fact the result of this sampling indicates that there is such a trend of decline, our case will be all the stronger. So, we selected two issues from each of the three half-years, those of June 1 and July 1 of each year. The result is presented in Table VI.

Table VI shows that in the social sciences there was a marked decline in the number of Soviet books translated in Communist China from 1959 to 1965. The sharp decline occurred between 1959 and 1963. But two other types of books, natural science and technology, picked up from 1963 to 1965 which account for the increase of total number of books translated from 1963 to 1965. The category social science includes Soviet leaders' speeches and other works of philosophy, economics, law, politics, international relations, military and other general social science subjects. These are precisely the

119. SCMP, No. 1313, p. 30 and No. 1183.

Table VI

A Sample of Soviet Books Translated in Communist China, 1959, 1963 and 1965 (in number of titles)

Year	<u>Books by Lenin</u>		<u>Social Sciences</u>		<u>Natural Sciences</u>		<u>Technology</u>		Total Number
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
1959	7	6.4	11	10.0	32	29.0	60	54.6	110
1963	0	0	3	13.0	4	17.4	16	69.6	23
1965	1	1.3	3	3.8	10	12.5	66	82.4	80

fields that the Sino-Soviet dispute concerned; it is therefore no wonder that social sciences works bore the brunt. An additional interesting fact is that among the three social science books translated from the Russian in the two issues of bibliography in 1965, two were entitled "Collections of Speeches of Khrushchev" which were the first Chinese books extremely hostile to the Soviet Union. The books attacked Khrushchev as a "modern revisionist."* Furthermore, in 1959 there was the special section "Russian and Soviet Literature" in the bibliography but it was eliminated since 1962.

* The general trend revealed in Table VI is supported in yet another sample that we did with the bibliography. We had the issues of the second half of 1959, the first half of 1960, the second half of 1962 and the first half of 1964. We selected three issues from each of the four half-years. For 1959 and 1962 we selected three months--July, September and December--and then randomly one issue from each month. For 1960 and 1964 we drew randomly from January, April and June. Thus we had 12 issues for four years and each half year was covered by three issues. Then we counted every Soviet book in those issues. The result is as follows:

We can also see that no matter how much the total number of works translated from the Soviet Union declined, those of technology consistently occupied the largest proportion among all the four kinds of books translated. This is not a new phenomenon. For example a 1957 report says that from 1949 to 1956, 12,400 titles of books from the Soviet Union were translated; of these 4,000 were on science and technology, about one-third of the total.¹²⁰ This proportion has certainly risen since 1959 when the dispute deteriorated.

Other Western Books Translated

In the early years of the regime, considerable numbers of Eastern European books were also translated. From 1949 to 1955, 200

Year	Percentage of Books on				Total Number of Books
	Social Sciences	Literature	Natural Sciences	Technology	
1959	16.8	11.4	11.5	60.3	(131)
1960	14.5	6.3	19.0	60.2	(111)
1962	10.2	8.0	26.8	55.0	(49)
1964	1.0	1.0	25.5	72.5	(51)

Thus we see the sharp decline of books on social science from 1959 to 1964 and an increase in the percentage of books on natural sciences and technology from 1960 to 1964. The total absolute number of books in the sample also shows a slight increase from 1962 to 1964, corresponding to the rising trend of total numbers and especially those on natural sciences and technology from 1963 to 1965 shown in Table VI.

120. Jen-Min Jih-Pao (People's Daily), January 12, 1957.

books from the "people's democracies" were translated.¹²¹ In 1954, 80 books--mostly in history and literature--from six Eastern European countries were translated into Chinese.¹²² In 1959 a series of books from East Germany were published in honor of the founding of the "German Democratic Republic." A report stated that 202 German books on literature and art had been translated from 1949 to 1958, with 3,080,000 copies.¹²³

Other European books that were translated belonged to three types: general theoretical works, classical literature and modern literature with criticism of Western society.

The first type includes such books as Hegel's History of Philosophy, Kant's Critique of Pure Reason, Keynes' The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money and Mendel's Experiments in Plant Hybridization.

The second type includes such books as Homer's Iliad, Plato's Dialogues, Aristotle's Poetics, Milton's Paradise Lost, Dante's Divine Comedy and Pushkin's Gypsies.

The third type includes literary works of the 19th century. They include such authors as Thackeray, Dickens, Hardy, Hugo, Flaubert, Whitman and Poe.

A 1962 report stated that 37 titles of Shakespeare's plays had been translated with 603,000 copies. Among them, 84,000 copies of "Romeo and Juliet" and 65,000 copies of "Hamlet" were sold.¹²⁴

121. SCMP, No. 1114, p. 15.

122. Ibid., No. 809, p. 42.

123. Ibid., No. 2117, p. 29.

124. Ibid., No. 2870, p. 16.

Among the American books translated are such works as The Soul of Black Folk (du Bois), There Was a Slave (Graham), The Negro People in American History (Foster), People's Capitalism; Stock Ownership and Production (Budish) and Institutional Economics; Its Place in Political Economy (John R. Commons, 1934), etc. Aside from these, several works by Mark Twain and O'Henry were also translated.

Two new trends in translation since the late 1950's and early 1960's can be noted: one, toward more works by Afro-Asian writers and the other toward more technical works by Western scientists. These trends have been summarized well by a former free lance translator in Shanghai who later fled to Hong Kong. In an interview with a publisher, this translator said:¹²⁵

...in the first few years I translated novels only, including those by English and American leftist authors. In 1957 when there were growing nationalist movements in places like Africa and South America, nearly all the novels were by writers from these areas--they had little or no literary value and were all politically biased, but the Government obviously wanted to demonstrate Communist China's sympathy with these people in their fight against colonialism. Two years later much more emphasis was placed on technological and scientific textbooks. In 1960 the Shanghai branch of the CPPCC [Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference] was officially instructed to translate the titles of all articles published in leading foreign periodicals--including magazines published in the USA, Britain, France, Australia, Belgium and Canada--I should think there must have been thousands of such magazines in the Shanghai Public Library. The

125. "Interview with a Translator from Shanghai," Current Scene, Hong Kong, July 10, 1961.

CPPCC Shanghai Branch immediately mobilized all translators there for this work. The authorities selected from the translated titles those that had a direct bearing on scientific or technical subjects and these were then fully translated. By July of that year the emphasis was shifting from general scientific subjects to those dealing exclusively with agriculture.

Chinese Books Translated into Foreign Languages

Communist China also translates Chinese books into foreign languages, mostly for propaganda purposes. The chief agent for this task is the Foreign Language Press in Peking. A 1957 report summarizes Peking's work of translating Chinese works into other languages:¹²⁶

During the last seven years, the Foreign Language Press has published 416 titles of political, academic and literary and art works in more than ten languages including Russian, English, French, German, Indonesian, Japanese, Spanish and Esperanto. The circulation of these publications totaled 4,661,253 copies and covered 71 countries. The works of Comrade Mao Tse-tung written at different times have 699,360 copies in circulation. The works of many of our ancient and modern writers and poets have also been translated into a number of foreign languages.... During the period from January 1950 to June 1956, more than 24,000,000 copies of the three magazines mentioned above [People's China, China Pictorial, Chinese Literature] were circulated in 86 countries....

The most translated Chinese works are those by Mao Tse-tung. From 1949 to 1961, Peking translated 253 titles of Mao's works, totaling 4,300,000 copies, into 15 foreign languages. The four volumes of Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung had been translated into English, French, Spanish and Russian by the end of 1964. There is

126. Kwang Ming Jih Pao (Kwang Ming Daily), January 16, 1957.

now an English and French edition of the Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung. Mao Tse-tung on Education and Mao Tse-tung on Literature and Art have also been translated into English.¹²⁷

The Foreign Language Press has translated into English Liu Shao-chi's Nationalism and Internationalism and How to be a Good Communist. Non-Communist works like the classical San Kuo (The Romance of Three Kingdoms) and Shui Hu Chuan (All Men Are Brothers) have also been translated into English.

The Sino-Soviet dispute has given Peking new incentives to translate and produce more foreign language publications: to defend herself and to attack the Soviet Union. The following news dispatch by an American correspondent in Uruguay indicates this new momentum in Peking's foreign publications:¹²⁸

Montevideo, Uruguay, Aug. 8--Uruguay has long been suspected of being an active center of Communist propaganda distribution in Latin America, and many signs seem to confirm it.

The Chinese Communists in particular show increasing activity. A total of 850 mail bags of printed matter from Peking arrives each month in Uruguay, compared with 350 bags that emanate from Moscow, according to police estimates. The weight of the bags varies from 20 to 60 pounds.

When the police raided several well-known Communist centers in Montevideo, a considerable stock of printed matter addressed to other Latin American countries was discovered.

127. Wang Chien, op. cit., p. 32.

128. The New York Times, August 9, 1964.

V

Readership and Conclusions

Now we have come to the most obscure and yet most important point--readership in Communist China. It is understandable that with such massive efforts and substantial investment in the publishing industry, the Communist government would report any encouraging results. Such reports, of course, are never wanting in Communist China.

Readership Promotion

The Communists have created very favorable conditions for book buying. Hsin Hua has set up a large network of book distribution. For the first time in Chinese history, a rural resident can go to a local bookstore in the village or commune and buy a book. If he cannot get the book in the store, he can always order it through the mail-order program. Hsin Hua has an extensive mail-order program. In 1963, Hsin Hua had mail-order departments in its branch offices in 28 cities in China. Yet the system was still expanding, as the following report indicates:¹²⁹

In order to facilitate the purchase of books by mail by readers, Hsin Hua Book Company has laid down a number of new regulations governing the operation of the mail-order system. These rules provide that all books on sale at the retail counters of Hsin Hua book stores can be ordered

129. Jen-Min Jih-Pao (People's Daily), August 12, 1963.

by mail. To reduce the expense, the bookstore will take care of both the mailing and packaging expenses, if the books ordered by readers are to be sent by ordinary mail and packed in the customary manner. All the readers need to do when ordering by mail a small number of books is to put down on the postal remittance slip the titles of the books and the number of copies they want, instead of writing directly to the store concerned.

Book prices in Communist China are generally very low. From 1951 to 1956, book prices were cut five times. Today except for a few academic reference books, buying a book, or several books, is within everybody's reach. Five volumes of Dialectical Materialism cost ¥ 2.50 (\$1.00). Almost all literary or technical books cost from one to three Chinese Communist dollars (\$0.40 to \$1.20). Official reports on sales figures seem to be impressive.

Peking has 90 book stores. In 1963 the biggest one was visited daily by 10,000 customers. Sales of all the 90 stores averaged eight copies for every Peking resident over seven years of age.¹³⁰ From 1950 to 1954, Hsin Hua sold 61,000,000 books in Peking. On one ordinary Sunday, in 1954, 56,000 residents of Peking bought books from Hsin Hua's 20 branch shops in the city.¹³¹ In addition, nearly 1,000 readers a day visited the National Library in Peking. In 1960, 130,000 books were borrowed from this library.¹³²

In Shanghai, in 1959, a report stated that "reading has become a vogue among workers" and that this vogue was caused by a reading movement, called the "Lu Shun Model Book Reading Movement." It said:

130. SCMP, No. 3005, p. 16.

131. Ibid., No. 863, p. 37.

132. Ibid., No. 2557, p. 19.

"The Young Communist League and the library...are organizing lectures, story-telling meetings and forums to give advice on reading, to exchange experiences in reading and strengthen interest in books among the workers."¹³³ For this movement, "mobile libraries" had been developed and loudspeakers were used to organize book reading. Then the report went on to list books that were popular among the workers:¹³⁴

At present, My Family is one of the most popular books in Shanghai. This book has been sold out several times at the Hsin Hua Book Company in Shanghai since early last December, and 230,000 copies have been sold up to now. Such books as I Followed Chairman Mao During the Long March, Recollections of an Old Member of the Young Communist League and A Single Spark Starts a Prairie Fire have been sold out for a long time. Eternal Life in Blazing Fire, Steel in Fire and other true accounts of revolutionary struggles, published in Peking, are bought up as soon as copies reach Shanghai.

In the first half of the year, according to a 1961 report, 6.8 million books and pamphlets were delivered to peasants in the Shensi province, which means one book to every two peasants.* It also stated that there were 400 bookstores in the communes and more than 2,000 small bookstores in production teams. There were 700 traveling booksellers to serve remote regions. Peasants were said to be eager to read the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung

133. Wen Hui Pao (Wen Hui Daily), April 7, 1959.

134. Loc. cit.

* The population of Shensi is around 15,881,281 (see Chandra-
sekhar, p. 41) and if we take the national percentage of the
peasantry in China, which is 85 percent, and apply it to Shensi,
we get 13,499,089 peasants in Shensi. With 6.8 million books,
it means an average of one book to every two peasants.

and All Men Are Brothers (Shui Hu Chuan).¹³⁵

A report in November, 1963, gives an equally encouraging picture of book reading in rural China today:¹³⁶

The number of books and magazines circulated in rural areas from January to September of this year exceeds that in the corresponding period of last year by about 70 percent. According to incomplete statistics, by the end of September, more than 1,500,000 copies of popular readings for class education, such as Painful Memories, Footprints of Three Generations, The Evil Landlord Class and Lectures on the Knowledge of Class Struggle in Rural Areas, have been distributed to rural areas. About 5,000,000 copies of more than ten books on learning from Lei Feng* and on the deeds of Lei Feng have been supplied to the countryside. Two or three thousand copies at most, and six to seven hundred copies at least of Red Rock, which is an excellent novel, have been sent to a hsien. Large numbers of such novels as Sea of Forest and Snow Clad Plain, Heroes of Luliang and Flowers That Face the Sun were formerly issued to the countryside. This year, over 100,000 copies of these novels have been issued to meet the rural requirements. A tremendous increase has also been scored in the rural circulation of books for popularizing scientific knowledge and for introducing agricultural techniques, reference books for use by middle and primary school students, and data on amateur literary activities.

But the most encouraging report was a 1963 "survey" made by the People's Daily in Hsueh County of Honan province. The county's population was 480,000 and 107,000 of them had at least primary education. One township had 4,320 people and "now it has

135. SCMP, No. 2557, p. 10.

136. Ibid., No. 3108, p. 11.

* Lei Feng was said to be a dedicated soldier in the Communist Chinese army, who was killed in a car accident. After his death, the regime made him a popular hero for all the population to emulate.

521 local peasants who can read newspapers and books; 362 students educated in the cities who have returned to the township, and 197 workers and employees who came to join agricultural production. This makes a total of 1,080 people, one-fourth of the commune's population." The report went on to describe their reading habits:¹³⁷

Educated young farmers and commune cadres have an insatiable appetite for good literary works. Everywhere we found the supply of books far short of demand.

There are ten circulating libraries in the villages of Hsuehchang County. Each has a librarian. Every month or so he goes to the county town and carries back from the county cultural center a stock of books which he circulates in his village.

The Hsin Hua Bookstore in the Hsuehchang county town has two traveling salesmen whose job is to sell books in the villages. Each takes three or four dozen volumes on a trip and soon sells them all. Last year, not counting sales over the counter, the bookshop sold 25,000 copies of literary works in the villages. Red Crag [Red Rock] alone sold 1,100 copies and the Collection of Poems of Revolutionary Martyrs, 950 copies. From 1958 to 1962, the surrounding villages have bought one to two thousand copies each of Tracks in the Snowy Forest, Snow Thistle, Song of Youth, Sanliwan Village, Keep the Red Flag Flying, and Great Changes in a Mountain Village, but there is still a long waiting list of young peasants for every one of them.

To ease this problem somewhat, the Hsin Hua Bookstore in 1960 set up a reading counter in the shop stocked with hundreds of copies of various novels. This was warmly appreciated. The two long benches at the counter are almost always full, and many people read standing up. It also set up a lending library with 1,150 copies of 722 best sellers (80 percent of them literary works). There are 30 copies of Red Crag alone, but this is still not enough to go around and many readers

137. Peking Review, No. 16, April 19, 1963, pp. 24-25.

had to sign up and wait their turn. The place is crowded from morning to night and up to a hundred books are lent out every day....

Apart from novels, some young peasants are particularly fond of short stories. Such authors as Li Chun, Chi Hsueh-pei, Ma Feng and Chung Ching are very well known.

Revolutionary literature is used as a means of self-education and of educating others. The Party secretary of the Hsuaishuwa Production Brigade in Yingyang County has told the stories of Hsu Yung-feng and Hua Tzu-liang [characters in Red Crag] at mass meetings and cadres' meetings. Listeners, deeply moved, have said: "Compared to them, our difficulties today are nothing at all!" Production brigade cadres who have books make a point of taking some along with them when they visit the various production teams of the brigade so that more people can get a chance to read what books are available.

Young peasants interested in medicine want books like Practical Internal Medicine or Notes on Caution and Acupuncture; those interested in the arts want How to Paint in Water Colours or books on the technique of wood engraving. Books on the most diverse subjects are needed, such as on how to assemble crystal radio sets, on the nature and uses of electricity, on how to raise one's political level, how to write fiction, and all types of historical fiction.

The picture story book is another form of literature the peasants like. People who know only a few characters like them; people who know a great many characters also like them. Grandpas and grandmas who don't know any characters at all like to point at the pictures and ask the young people: "This one is a good man; that one is the scoundrel, isn't that so?" As for primary school pupils, you can't coax them to let go of these books.

The peasants like best the picture story books adapted from classical novels and folklore and on the revolutionary struggles. They like those with well-composed pictures.... They are a bit critical of those picture story books made up of motion picture stills which are not too clearly reproduced....

Characteristics of Readership

The significant thing about this "survey" is that not only were the peasants reading books but also they were reading the books that the Party wanted them to read the most--contemporary novels about "revolutionary struggles." But is this really the case? As we examine the survey report further, we find that book reading, especially reading these revolutionary novels, was not independent of the ubiquitous Communist organization. Hence, "Revolutionary literature is used as a means of self-education and of educating others. The Party secretary of the Hsuaishuwa Production Brigade in Yingyang County has told the stories of Hsu Yung-feng and Hua Tzu-liang [characters in Red Crag] at mass meetings and cadres' meetings...." In the case of workers' reading in Shanghai, it was the result of the "Lu Shun Model Book Reading Movement." Readership was then merely another manifestation of the Party's mobilization of the people.

Sales of books in the cities could also be a result of bureaucratism, as the following report indicates:¹³⁸

The following incident is known to have happened several years ago: By the end of the year, some units of the universities found that they had a surplus of funds for book-buying. They sent men right away to the Hsin Hua Book Store and ordered from one to three copies of every book irrespective of its nature. "I want them all!" How resounding is this chivalrous voice. Some even said: "Give me 30,000 yuan worth of books!" As a result of this, the Hsin Hua Book Store was able to clear away the majority of its obsolete stock every year.

138. Jen-Min Jih-Pao (People's Daily), September 1, 1956.

One can easily dismiss this as an isolated incident. But this same report cited three incidents of this kind. In one of these, a customer from an organization bought 150,000 copies of books in a single purchase. But this was a report made in 1956, during the "Hundred Flowers" campaign when criticism of the Party and the state was permitted for a short while. That today we do not see such reports any more does not mean that they do not exist.

On Chinese readers' choices of books, we got a rare report from a more or less genuine survey which, again, was revealed in 1957, during the "Hundred Flowers" campaign. A reporter on the Wen-Yi Pao (Literary Gazette), whose staff later suffered a severe purge of its "rightists" at the end of 1957, conducted a personal survey of workers' reading habits. His findings did not quite agree with the Party's claim that modern novels were popular among the people.¹³⁹

This reporter investigated a reading room in an industrial suburban town near Peking. The reading room served employees of 84 institutions in the surrounding area including factories, schools and armed forces. It had 12,377 books. There were 4,742 picture books, 5,422 books of literature and 2,213 about other topics. This reading room had 10,830 regular readers in 1956 and its books were borrowed 26,678 times during that year, an average of 2.6 times a month. The most avid reader borrowed books 32 times in 1956.

139. Wen-Yi Pao (Literary Gazette), No. 10, 1957, p. 13

It was found that engineers or technicians liked to read Jean Christophe, Anna Karenina and works by Balzac, Maupassant and Chekhov. Persons with high school education liked to read translated war novels such as Sea Gull, Day and Night and The Red Safe.* Older workers liked to read the classical San Kuo (The Romance of Three Kingdoms) and Shui Hu Chuan (All Men are Brothers); they criticized modern novels for lack of interesting plots and some said that it was a waste to print so many modern books. Some young girls liked to read short stories like Liu Hu Lan.** One factory official told the reporter that the workers were mostly interested in reading classical novels because they had engrossing plots, so they would not mind reading these novels again and again. As for modern novels, a worker would only read it once.

The reporter then looked up the checking file of the reading room to find out which books were read the most from January to December, 1956. His findings are presented below. For easy identification we put two asterisks to identify classical books, one asterisk for translated books, a (?) for books of unknown origin and nothing on modern Communist books.

<u>Title</u>	<u>Number of Times Borrowed (January-December, 1956)</u>
<u>Tong Chow Li Kuo Chi</u> ** (Countries of the East Chow)	43
<u>Shou Yueh Chuan Tsuan</u> ** (Complete Biography of Yueh Fei)	39

* All Soviet books.

** About a girl martyr in the Communist guerrilla war.

<u>Title</u>	<u>Number of Times Borrowed (January-December, 1956)</u>
<u>Pao Wei Yen-an</u> (Defense of Yen-an)	32
<u>Pao Fen Tsou Yu</u> (The Hurricane)	28
<u>Shui Hu Chuan**</u> (All Men Are Brothers)	21
<u>Tieh Dao Yu Chi Tuai</u> (Railway Guerrilla)	20
<u>Hung Lou Mon**</u> (Dream of the Red Chamber)	19
<u>Hai Ou*</u> (The Sea Gull)	17
<u>Chu La*</u> (Zola)	16
<u>Fei Chao Chien Mi Chi*</u> (On the Destruction of the Bandit Base)	11
<u>Chu Mo Chi (?)</u> (Chasing Away the Devils)	11
<u>San Chien Li Kiang San</u> (3000 Miles of Rivers and Mountains)	11
<u>Pao Fen Yu Chien</u> (Before the Storm)	10
<u>Shuan Lin Mao Ti Piao</u> (Shuan Lin Mao's Watch)	7
<u>Shih Shui Wei Lan</u> (Rivers and Mountains)	6
<u>Chi Yuan Chun Ying Hsiung Chuan</u> (Heroes of the Volunteer Army)	5
<u>Tsai Tien Yeh Shan Chien Chin</u> (March on the Field)	4

<u>Title</u>	<u>Number of Times Borrowed (January-December, 1956)</u>
<u>Tai Yang Chao Tsai Shuan Chien Ho Shan</u> (The Sun Shines on Shuan Chien River)	4
<u>Tieh Shui Pen Liu</u> (Flow of Iron Water)	3

This sample shows that of the six books borrowed for 20 or more times in 1956, three were classical works, of which two occupied the first and second positions. The three remaining ones were modern Communist novels. Pao Wei Yen-an (Defense of Yen-an) was declared a best seller in 1954 and was reported to have sold 100,000 copies that year. Pao Fen Tsou Yu (The Hurricane) won a Stalin award in 1951. Tien Dao Yu Chi Tuai (Railway Guerrilla) was also a favorite Communist novel. All these modern novels were about war and insurrections, resembling the contents of the classical Shui Hu Chuan (All Men Are Brothers) and Tong Chow Li Kuo Chi (Countries of the East Chow).

Of the remaining 13 books, those that were read fewer than 20 times in 1956, the classical Hung Lou Mon (Dream of the Red Chamber) headed the list, followed by three translated novels. The much praised modern novel about the Korean War, Chi Yuan Chun Ying Hsiung Chuan (Heroes of the Volunteer Army) was borrowed only five times in 1956. The two novels on the bottom of the list, Tai Yang Chao Tsai Shuan Chien Ho Shan (The Sun Shines on Shuan Chien River) and Tieh Shui Pen Liu (Flow of Iron Water), were by two Stalin award winners. The former was the very work that won the prize for the author, who had at one time been the most renowned female novelist

of the Peking regime, Ting Ling. The latter was written by Chu Li-pu who won the Stalin prize for his Pao Fen Tsou Yu (The Hurricane) which is fourth on the list. This sample list shows clearly that only three out of 11 modern novels were borrowed more than 20 times in 1956. The remaining eight were the least borrowed books in the sample.

There was additional evidence of the unpopularity of modern novels. "A check up at the library of the Laborers' Cultural Palace [in Tientsin] found that it had bought the classical A Pilgrimage to the West at the end of 1956. By the end of April, 1957, this book had been borrowed 48 times within five months. The classical Shui Hu Chuan was bought in 1956 and by April, 1957, it had been borrowed 86 times. Comrade Pa Chin's Spring, Family, Autumn, Rain, Fog and Electricity were borrowed 90 times.* Anna Karenina was bought in mid-1956 and by the end of April, 1957, it had been borrowed 22 times.... But so far as modern novels are concerned, very few people borrowed them."¹⁴⁰

In his personal interviews, this reporter on the Wen-Yi Pao found that the dominant criticism against modern novels was "formalism." "A young girl got a modern novel on textile workers and she immediately declared that she knew it would again be about how new things could come out of wastage." A worker commented: "Take, for example, the subject of progressive production. It is always

140. Wen-Yi Pao (Literary Gazette), No. 10, 1957, p. 13.

* All these works of Pa Chin had been written in the pre-Communist era.

about a bureaucratic section chief who makes workers suffer. But once the Party secretary appears and his support is obtained, then every problem is solved instantly and then the story ends."¹⁴¹

After the end of the "Hundred Flowers" campaign, we no longer find reports as frank as the one cited above. All functional criticism revolved around one principle: "Report good news but not bad news" (Pao Hsi Pu Pao Tso). Even so we can still detect that what the Wen-Yi Pao reporter had found in 1957 still existed in 1962 and 1963 and probably exists today. In 1962, the People's Daily published a story which reported that big sales of a series of pocket books had been made. These books were on Chinese history and geography and on foreign history. The report then discussed how and why readers liked to read these books:¹⁴²

Some old workers who formerly loved to read such novels as Three Kingdoms and All Men Are Brothers are now deeply interested in this series of pocket-edition books on history because the stories of many real characters and events in history are recounted.

...Some readers reported that they were highly interested in such books as Chu Yuan, Wen Tien-hsiang, The Story of Hai Liu, Li Shih-chen, Hsu Hsia-ke, Lin Tse-hsu and Hung Hsiu-chuan in the series of pocket-edition books on Chinese history. The warm love of these people for their mother country and their zealous pursuit of truth and knowledge play the educational role of quietly transforming the thought of those who read such books.

The names mentioned in the above quotation like Chu Yuan, Wen Tien-hsiang, Li Shih-chen and Hung Hsiu-chuan were also historical figures.

141. Wen-Yi Pao (Literary Gazette), No. 10, 1957, p. 13.

142. Jen-Min Jih-Pao (People's Daily), October 13, 1962.

Chu was a patriotic poet of around 300 B.C. Wen was a patriotic general in the Sung Dynasty and was executed by the Mongols. Li was the author of Compendium of Materia Medica in 1885. Hung Hsiu-chuan was the leader of the Taiping Rebellion in the Ching Dynasty. These facts seemed to confirm what the reporter of the Wen-Yi Pao found in 1957. The attraction of the past was so overwhelming that the Communist Party published Thirty-Seven Poems by Chairman Mao in classical style in 1964. It was bound by silk threads, as classical books had been. It used hand-made paper on which classical Chinese works used to be printed. It used a special kind of calligraphy that was considered the most scholarly style in classical Chinese calligraphy.

This popularity of classical works seems to be a characteristic of Soviet readership too. Gorokhoff reported how Soviet citizens lined up in front of a bookstore early in the morning just to buy a set of works by Chekhov. Then he commented:¹⁴³

Many refugees from the USSR express more regret over the loss of the books they were forced to leave behind than over the loss of any other possessions; they also report that it is the classics of Russian and world literature which are read over and over again rather than contemporary Soviet literature.

This is exactly what that reporter found in 1957 in the reading room of a suburban town near Peking. Thus we can see that in both the Soviet Union and Communist China, people hold on to the traditional

143. Boris I. Gorokhoff, Publishing in the U.S.S.R., Washington, D.C., Council on Library Resources, Inc., 1959, pp. 1-2.

books. Ironically it is the nature of the new literature that contributes to the persistence of the traditional. People read about the romantic past to escape from the drab and tyrannical present, which is reflected in the contemporary literature.

In the realm of scientific and technical publications, the leaders of the Soviet Union and Communist China share two fundamental principles. They are interested in the dissemination of scientific information for the sake of facilitating the country's industrial development. They also put more emphasis on applied sciences. But on methods to implement these goals, Moscow and Peking have a parting of the ways. While formerly Soviet persecution of scientists did exist, basic research has recently been encouraged. "In any case, research in physics and chemistry was always encouraged--which explains to a large extent the Soviet advances that in the West are too often attributed to mysterious miracles or to the contribution of German scientists."¹⁴⁴

In Communist China, scientists were distrusted, especially those who received advanced scientific education abroad. "...Both Party and government consider all scientists, especially those belonging to the older generation, as 'class enemies' who can never be trusted...."¹⁴⁵

In the meantime, literacy is still not universal in China, let alone possession of basic scientific knowledge. The literacy figures, to use those reported by the most sympathetic writer on

144. Klochko, op. cit., p. 198.

145. Ibid., p. 204.

Communist China, were 34 percent in rural areas and 76 percent in urban areas.¹⁴⁶ The test of literacy in China is based on the ability to recognize 1,500 characters. These are enough to read a newspaper, but far from enough to read a scientific journal, even a very simplified one.

While the present problem for the Soviet leaders is to stress quality of scientific publications so as to promote advanced scientific innovation, that for the Chinese Communists is still to impart the most fundamental knowledge and to introduce the tools to acquire that basic knowledge.

The Future

The publishing trend in Communist China so far has been to give both literary and scientific works greater quotas than others. The former is designed to make people "red" and the other is to make people "expert." The aim is to find a unity of the two. But the majority of the Chinese people are not ready to be either "red" or "expert." They have not even acquired the basic tool--literacy--to recognize what is "red" and "expert." As to the small group of men who are qualified to do so, the Party has already pronounced their fate--"class enemy."

Quantitatively we may expect Peking to continue its trend toward publishing large amounts of political and technological books. The Chinese Communists are not likely to yield to the force of public opinion. The resistance to political works on the part of

146. Snow, op. cit., p. 227.

the general public will force Peking to give them even more of this kind of work. The Communist answer is always that people are not "conscious" enough to appreciate the doctrine and to make them more "conscious," more books of this type must be published. When Felix Greene reminded a senior Chinese Communist cadre that Marxist works were not read or understood by the people of Marx's time, the cadre answered: "It is true that Marx was ahead of his time...but if the masses had been sufficiently educated to read him, they would have understood and loved his works...."¹⁴⁷

But on the technological books, there can be qualitative change in the future. Peking may come to realize the importance of basic research and to place more emphasis on that. The publishing of William Ian Beardmore Beveridge's The Art of Scientific Investigation in 1962 might be a sign of such a change. This does not necessarily mean that Peking will abandon its practical view of science. The problem is to achieve a balance of the two. But the key to all this is the leadership, as Professor Klochko predicts:¹⁴⁸

Now China has unquestionably arrived at a very dangerous moment in her national history, but there are several roads she can take that will, in the end, lead her beyond her present difficulties. The question is only to determine what price she is willing to pay. No longer is there talk of the Great Leap Forward, but of the new formula of Step-by-Step Progression. Yet formulas are of little importance: As long as Mao Tse-tung is in power, China will stagnate.

147. Greene, op. cit., p. 244.

148. Klochko, op. cit., p. 213.

If Mao disappears, the situation in China would improve instantaneously. For one thing, even if the same officers who now surround him remained in power, it is certain they would behave more realistically. For another, the mere desire not to lose power would prevent them from destroying those qualities of the system that assure them all of benefits and continued power. Another factor that would operate to prevent the reconstitution of a single authority such as Mao now wields, is the formation in China, similar to that in Russia, of a new ruling class, intent upon preserving its privileges and maintaining its authority. The directors of plants and factories, the younger cadres, the survivors of older groups of cadres will certainly play a decisive role in the organization of their country.

Then and only then can we expect a "thaw" in the publishing industry as well.

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